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LATIN SATIRICAL WRITING SUBSEQUENT TO JUVENAL

LATIN SATIRICAL WRITING SUBSEQUENT TO JUVENAL

BY

ARTHUR H. WESTON

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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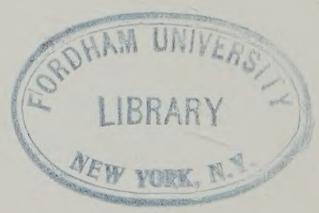

PREFACE

This volume represents in a somewhat enlarged and revised form a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in 1911. The subject for investigation was suggested to me by Professor G. L. Hendrickson, who has given me much valuable advice and criticism, both in general and in particular. I am very glad to have this opportunity to publicly acknowledge my indebtedness, and express my gratitude and appreciation, to him.

A. H. W.

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Minor Poets Contemporary with Juvenal	11
Apuleius	14
Tertullian	16
Commodianus	26
Arnobius	31
Ausonius	37
Tetradius	41
Sulpicia	42
Prudentius	43
Carmen contra Paganos	57
Carmen ad Senatorem	61
Paulinus of Nola	64
Cresconius	69
Ambrosius	70
Hieronymus	82
Claudian	101
S. Paulini Epigramma	121
Orientius	125
Rutilius Namatianus	129
Lucillus	135
Apollinaris Sidonius	136
Secundinus	140
Lampridius	141
Salvianus	143
Conclusion	155
Bibliography	158
Index	164

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1

In undertaking a discussion of the satirical element in the Latin literature of the later Roman Empire, we are confronted at the very outset with the necessity of establishing what we are to understand by our terminology. What is "satire"? What can we properly call "satirical" writing?

The origin and early history of the word *satura, satira*, is somewhat obscure, and scholars differ as to when it actually came into use in the sense in which it was afterwards employed. The earliest occurrence in extant literature is in Horace, *Serm.*, II, 1, 1, and here it is plain that Horace used it in a generic sense, not referring specifically to a certain individual production of his, but to the general body of his literary work of a certain kind.[1]

The Roman grammarians distinguished between two types of satire, one, the mere mixture of prose and verse, or of different kinds of verse, in one poem, and the other, the critical, censorious type of literature written by such masters as Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. A definition found in the *De Poetis* of Suetonius, and again in the work of Diomedes, a grammarian of the fourth century A. D., runs as follows: "*Satira* is the name given in Roman circles nowadays to a censorious poem (*carmen maledicum*), one written to criticise men's vices, in the manner of the Old Comedy, such as Lucilius

[1] Yet *Serm.*, II, 6, 17 shows, by the use of the plural, that he was beginning to apply the generic word to the single work.

and Horace and Persius wrote. And formerly, a poem that was made up of different kinds of verse was called *satira*, such as Pacuvius and Ennius wrote."[2] We shall concern ourselves with that type of satire first mentioned, the one "*ad carpenda hominum vitia . . . compositum.*"

In investigating the Roman idea of satire, we soon meet what is apparently an inconsistency, a contradiction. Satire is spoken of as a Roman invention. "*Satira quidem,*" says Quintilian, "*tota nostra est.*"[3] Horace refers to Lucilius as the "inventor" of satire,[4] and states again that he, Lucilius, was the first to dare to write this sort of poetry.[5] Yet, on the other hand, Horace, after speaking of the Greek poets of the Old Comedy and the attitude they took in their comedies toward contemporary life, says

> Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosque secutus
> Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque, etc.[6]

And again in *Serm.*, I, 10, 16–17, the same close connection between Lucilius and the poets of the Old Comedy is indicated. How are these discrepancies to be reconciled? Both statements are true. The attitude taken by Roman satire toward persons or manners or vices did find its prototype in the Greek Old Comedy, and was anything but exclusively Roman; but the Roman claim to originality is just, in so far as it refers to the development of that kind of writing into a literary genus, and the application to it of a definite and particular name. In the words of Professor Conington, "That which constitutes the vaunted originality of Roman

[2] Satira dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia archaeae comoediae charactere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius. Et olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat satira vocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius. Suetonius, *Reliquiae*, Reifferscheidt's edition, p. 20. Keil, *Gram. Lat.*, 1, 485.

[3] *Inst. Orat.*, X, 1, 93.

[4] *Serm.*, I, 10, 48.

[5] *Serm.*, II, 1, 62 f.

[6] *Serm.*, I, 4, 6.

satire is not so much its substance as its form: the one had already existed in perfection at Athens, the elaboration of the other was reserved for the poetic art of Italy."[7]

And not only in the Old Comedy of the Greeks, but also in their Stoic diatribes, their Cynic popular-philosophical writings, are we to look for the forerunners of Roman satire. The importance of the Stoic element in the works of Persius due to the influence of his teacher Cornutus, is of course well known; but, aside from such definite and individual connections, there is a very considerable similarity between the Greek philosophical moralists and the Roman satirists in general. The same underlying motive, that of ethical criticism, appears again and again. The broad principle emphasized by the Cynic school, that man should live as far as possible a life of simplicity and naturalness, is reflected in the satirical pictures of luxury and artificiality in the later writers. Horace acknowledges the influence of Bion of Borysthenes upon his own work.[8] Sometimes definite parallelisms can be shown between his writing and various Greek works. The comic picture of the discontented people who, when suddenly offered their wishes by some god, hastily eat their own words, is found in Maximus of Tyre,[9] a Greek writer of the second century A. D. He probably did not copy it from Horace: more likely both authors made use of an idea that was common property, and which may have originated with Bion.[10] Those who make no use of the hoards they have amassed are compared to Tantalus by Teles.[11] The contrast that is at the bottom of Horace's fable of the city mouse and the country mouse—simplicity and safety versus luxury and

[7] *Lecture on the Life and Writings of Persius*, prefixed to his edition of Persius, p. xxvii.

[8] *Epist.*, II, 2, 60.

[9] XXI, 1 (XV of Hobein's edition).

[10] Heinze, *De Horatio Bionis Imitatore*, p. 16–17. Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, note on Horace, *Serm.*, I, 1, ad loc.

[11] IV A. Hense's edition of the *Reliquiae*, p. 24 f. Ioannes Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 97, 31.

care and danger—is dwelt on to some extent by a later imitator of Teles.[12] Musonius, Philo, and Plutarch, to mention representatives of different periods, all contain more or less of this same general type of moralizing.[13]

Horace gives us his idea of the proper style for satire, in *Serm.*, I, 10,—the writer should have some more lofty motive than merely to raise a laugh, whether by his wittiness or by galling, cruel mockery; he should avoid verbosity; sometimes, perhaps, it is well to be stern and bitter, more often kindly and playful; assuming now the lofty style of the orator and poet, and then the lighter attitude of the wit, which is often indeed the more effective of the two.[14] With this an English satirist of note agrees, in saying that "the best and finest manner of satire . . . is that sharp well-mannered way of laughing a folly out of countenance . . . ".[15]

But there are certain definite limitations to this viewpoint. There is little practice, for example, of the art of "laughing a folly out of countenance" in the satires of Juvenal. John Delaware Lewis, indeed, points out that Juvenal has relieved his somber pages with not a few touches of a humor that is essentially modern;[16] but the real spirit of Juvenal's satire is not humorous, but austere, and, with the exception of a few passages like

Maxima debetur puero reverentia[17]

[12] Stob., *Flor.*, 93, 31.

[13] See, in general, Heinze's dissertation above referred to, also P. Wendland, *Philo und die Kynisch-Stoische Diatribe*; P. Wendland, *Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*, pp. 78–79; F. Leo, *Römische Literatur des Altertums*, in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, 8, 3d ed., p. 421; M. Croiset, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Lucien*, p. 152.

[14] On the interpretation of this passage see G. L. Hendrickson, *Horace and Lucilius: a Study of Horace, Serm.*, I, 10, in the volume of *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, p. 152 ff.

[15] John Dryden, *Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire.* Essays of John Dryden, edited by W. P. Ker, 2, 105.

[16] John Delaware Lewis, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Satirae, with a Literal English Prose Translation and Notes.* 2d ed. Introduction pp. 14–17.

[17] 14, 47.

he does not seek, directly, at least, to reform evil conditions, so much as to scourge them with indignant invective and bitterest scorn.

It would be a thankless task to attempt to define satire as rigidly and precisely as a mathematician defines a circle. The field of satire is broad enough to include the humorous description of the journey to Brundisium, the "intellectual scorn" of Persius, and the concentrated rhetorical denunciations of Juvenal.

> Quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
> Gaudia discursus—

that is the true field of satire, and not only what men do, but what they think, and what they are. Satire may be personal, as Lucilius's satire of prominent men, Seneca's satire on the dead Claudius, or Claudian's "*In Eutropium.*" In such cases its affinity with the Old Comedy is clear. Its object then is to pillory the given person before the reader's eye, to ridicule his faults, laugh at his failings, or expose his crimes to the reader's indignation. Or satire may deal with topics and problems and thoughts of every-day life, as in Horace and Persius, and, as a rule, wherever it mentions names, mention them more as representatives of types, embodiments of the qualities under discussion, than with any special feeling of personal bitterness in mind. But within this wide variety of subjects for treatment, we must remember that the satirist occupies essentially one point of view, and that the differences which may exist between his different writings are due to the variety of subject-matter, and not to any change in the writer's attitude. We will always find, at bottom, some moral or ethical-philosophical idea, some principle which the satirist desires to inculcate, in a positive or negative way. The definition already quoted holds the key to the real character of satire, "*ad carpenda hominum vitia.*" Only when this is clearly borne in mind can one begin to grasp the unity of satirical literature as a whole. "*Quidquid agunt homines*"

is a wide field, and only some such underlying attitude, some such well-defined angle of thought, or purpose, on the part of the writer can enable him to even attempt to assume such a field for his province. The criticism of human faults is this underlying basis of satire: it takes many forms, from the wide variety of its possible themes, and from the temper of its individual exponents, but it is always there.

Is it necessary, moreover, that we should think of satire as restricted to hexameter verse? "*Carmen maledicum*," says the grammarian; must we hold fast to the literal meaning of "*carmen*"? Here again careful analysis is necessary. In a certain sense, yes. In so far as the dictum of Quintilian, "*Satira quidem tota nostra est*," is true, in so far as we think of satire as "a definite poetical genus, comparable to other departments of poetry, such as, for example, the elegy";[18] so far must we yield to the formal character given to satire by Lucilius and confirmed by the practice of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal.

And yet, in a wider sense, no. When once we look below the surface, and seek the gold regardless of the stamp upon it, we find that the satirical spirit has by no means confined itself, in its desire for expression, to the traditional, established hexameter form. In a type of literature like satire, where the content is really the important element, the form cannot be more than a minor consideration. Would not the satires of Horace and Persius and Juvenal deserve the name of satires if they were turned into prose? Horace, in fact, frankly excepts himself "*numero illorum quibus dederim esse poetis*";[19] and it seems evident that to him the metrical form in which his "sermones" or "talks" were cast was an incidental and not an indispensable feature. Prose parallels to the poetical "satire" are not wanting. The 86th letter of Seneca, in which he compares heroes like Scipio, Fabius, and Cato, with their

[18] G. L. Hendrickson, *Are the Letters of Horace Satires?* American Journal of Philology, 18, 322.

[19] *Serm.*, I, 4, 39 ff.

scanty toilet accommodations and their rustic ideas of cleanliness to the degenerate Romans of a later age who build and enjoy such elaborate baths, is an illustration in point. Such a reference to the temperature of the modern bath as the following,—"*temperaturam . . . quae nuper inventa est similis incendio, adeo quidem, ut convictum in aliquo scelere servum vivum lavari oporteat*"—might, if in verse, easily pass for a remark of Juvenal's. Seneca satirizes Claudius, Petronius satirizes the vulgar ostentation of Trimalchio, no whit the less keenly for doing it mainly in prose. To think of such writing as satire only in the sense of "that other and earlier kind of satire" seems to the writer an unnecessary and unwise limitation of the significance of the word.

§ 2

It would be a mistake to think of the three great Roman satirists—Horace, Persius, and Juvenal—as the only men who were writing satire during the period covered by their literary activities. Still earlier, of course, was Lucilius, the great master whom Horace, though criticising in details, yet revered and imitated; and between Lucilius and Horace, M. Terentius Varro Atacinus was only one of several who had tried their hands at satirical writing, but without success.[20] In the works of Horace himself, and the notes of early commentators, we find evidence pointing to the existence of other, contemporary satirical poets. The most positive of this evidence is to be found in the scholiasts. Porphyrio says, in his note on *Serm.*, I, 1, 20: "*Crispinus philosophiae studiosus fuit: idem et carmina scripsit, sed tam garrule, ut aretalogus diceretur.*" The pseudacronian scholium on the same passage is to the same effect: "*Hic Crispinus poeta fuit, qui sectam Stoicam versibus scripsit. . . . nam Stoici de divitiis maxime disseruerunt.*" Again, on *Serm.*, I, 3, 139 (pseudacro): "*Crispinus Stoicus fuit qui Stoicam sectam scripsit versibus.*"

[20] *Serm.*, I, 10, 46 ff.

And on *Serm.*, I, 4, 14: "*Hic* (i. e., Crispinus) *similiter ut Lucilius multos sed malos versus faciebat.*" Thus it would appear that this Crispinus was a Stoic poet, who wrote the moral-didactic precepts of his school in verses which were Lucilian in their fluency, at least, and probably in other respects. The evidence is too scanty to enable one to dogmatize, but Horace's references to Crispinus gain in significance and interest if we regard this writer as really more or less of a rival of his, writing along similar lines. Horace, recognizing a certain affinity between many of his own ideas and those of the Stoic school, such as he puts in the mouth of Damasippus, deprecated none the less the vehemence and extreme conclusions which characterized Stoic teachings. It is all the more natural, therefore, that he should object to having arguments with which he could sympathize weakened by inferior presentation or proximity to other arguments with which he had nothing in common. Thus if Crispinus was really a Stoic satirist, treating, on the whole, the same general themes which furnished Horace himself with material, we have a broader and more adequate ground for Horace's evident antipathy to him than if we merely assume that his verses illustrated certain defects in style.

Further, the words of *Serm.*, I, 4, 33 ff.,—

> Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.
> "Faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge: dummodo risum
> Excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico"—

clearly imply that there must have been poets writing who furnished ground for such a generalization. Why should those ruled by avarice, ambition, or passion, immediately become alarmed on hearing that Horace was a satiric poet, unless for the simple reason that they had already had experience with "*versus*" and "*poetas*," so that the mere mention of either was sufficient to arouse their fear and hatred? Vv. 70 ff. of the same satire have the same implication, namely, that Horace was contrasting himself with other writers whose

works were widely published, and whom some people were perhaps justified in fearing.

We know also that Gaius Trebonius sent to Cicero some satirical verses in the style of Lucilius,[21] and that Lenaeus, a grammarian, a freedman of Pompey, wrote a "most bitter satire" against the historian Sallust.[22] Suetonius also mentions Sevius Nicanor as the author of a satire;[23] and Lucius Abuccius, according to Varro,[24] had written books of Lucilian character. Orbilius Pupilius Beneventanus, the teacher of Horace, wrote a book "containing complaints of the injuries suffered by professors from the negligence or the ambition of parents."[25] The two books of Julius Caesar against Cato, also, perhaps, deserve mention in this connection.[26] And in the time of Nero, Seneca and Petronius were writing satire.[27]

We shall find that satirical writing took an important place, also, in the literature of the later Empire. It is the most natural thing in the world—any other result would be inexplicable—that this should be so. There could not help being writers in the later generations (i. e., after Juvenal) who were actuated by like motives to those of the classical satirists, whose minds were filled with wrath or contempt for vice and vicious men, or with tolerant, kindly ridicule for the lighter failings of human nature. The very fact of the rise and spread

[21] Cicero, *Epp. ad Fam.*, XII, 16, 3.

[22] Suetonius, *De Gram.*, 15.

[23] *De Gram.*, 5.

[24] *De Re Rustica*, III, 2, 17.

[25] Suetonius, *De Gram.*, 9. Cf. Juvenal, 7.

[26] Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. 3, p. 9. Cf. C. W. Göttling, *Opuscula*, 158.

[27] It seems clear that the mention by Fulgentius, *Expositio Serm. Antiq.*, 33 and 58, of Gavius Bassus and of Rabirius as writers of satire is not to be taken as trustworthy evidence. Cf. Lersch in Philologus, 1, 615 ff., and Haupt in Rheinisches Museum, 3, 308 ff. (= *Opuscula*, Vol. 1, p. 159 f.). And this renders suspicious also the reference to L. Annaeus Cornutus, the philosopher and teacher of Persius, as a satirist, by the same author (*ibid.* 20); although F. Ramorino in *Studi italiani di Filologia classica*, 12, 230–231, inclines to give some credence to this statement.

of Christianity, with the attendant gigantic, world-wide, bitter conflict between the new religion and the old, itself gave an excellent opportunity for the use of satire and invective, an opportunity which was by no means overlooked.[28]

These later writers may not have put their thoughts into words with quite the same skill as the classical satirists, may be inferior in clearness of insight and ability of expression, but at the same time they deserve investigation, and it will be found that in many cases they are not at all unworthy of being compared with their earlier and better known prototypes. It is the purpose of the writer to call attention to some of the satirical writing of this later period, to show what forms it took, what subjects it dealt with, and the nature of its treatment of those subjects.

[28] Cf. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, Vol. 8, IV, 1, 252.

MINOR POETS CONTEMPORARY WITH JUVENAL

Turnus

Turnus, a satirical poet of whom not much is definitely known, was approximately contemporary with Juvenal. If we are to trust the scholiast quoted by Valla on Juvenal 1, 20, he was "*potens in aula Vespasiani, Titi, et Domitiani;*" hence may have flourished a little before Juvenal. As a satirist, his name was often used in conjunction with that of Juvenal, e. g., by Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo*, 1, 603:

> Huius vulnificis satura ludente Camenis
> Nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit.

Ioannes Lydus, also, in his book "*De Magistratibus Populi Romani*" 1, 41, couples the name of Turnus with those of Juvenal and Petronius, in speaking of Roman satirists.[1]

We have, in fact, two lines preserved, which are ascribed to Turnus by the scholiast on Juvenal 1, 71. They are, unfortunately, corrupt, reading as follows:

> Ex quo Caesareas suboles Locusta cecidit
> Horrida cura sui verna nota Neronis.

The second verse is thus emended by Buecheler:[2]

> Horrendi curas avertere nata Neronis.

It is impossible to tell from such a small fragment what the whole satire was about—whether the mention of Nero is just in passing, or whether he is depicted at some length. A possible interpretation is that a certain state of affairs (poisoning?) is being dated by Turnus from the employment by Nero of the "*famosa venefica*" of Gaul, Locusta.[3]

[1] See also Martial, XI, 10. Schanz, *Geschichte, Handbuch*, 8, II, 2 (3d ed.), 196.

[2] *Pers. Iuv. Sulp. Saturae*, Iahn-Leo, 4th ed., p. 286.

[3] Cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, 33. Tacitus, *Annals*, 12, 66; 13, 15.

Turnus' style of satire would seem from this fragment to be sharp and biting, like that of Juvenal. Similarity to Juvenal is also suggested by the coupling of their names by later writers.

The lines attributed to Turnus by Wernsdorf[4] have been shown to be the work of a later writer.[5]

Silius

Silius, about 100 A. D., is known to us as a satirist from the scholiast on Juvenal 1, 20 ("*magnus Auruncae alumnus*") as follows: "*Lucilium dicit . . . vel . . . Turnum dicit . . . vel Lenium*[6] *dicit . . . vel Silium et ipsum sui temporis satyricum, qui omnes ut Probus refert ex Aurunca fuerunt.*"

This writer may be identical with the Silius Proculus to whom Pliny the Younger addresses Epistle 15 of Book 3, in which he promises to look over some of his poetry.[7]

Sentius Augurinus

A reference by the younger Pliny points to this writer, about whom nothing else is known, in a way that indicates that some of his writing may have been of a satirical nature. "*Poematia appellat. Multa tenuiter, multa sublimiter, multa venuste, multa tenere, multa dulciter, multa cum bile.*"[8]

Vergilius Romanus

Considering the relation which Roman satire bore to the Old Comedy, it may be of interest here to note a comedy written in imitation of the Old Comedy at Rome about 107 A. D. Pliny[9] tells of listening to Vergilius Romanus as he read to a few friends "*comoediam ad exemplar veteris comoediae scriptam tam bene ut esse quandoque possit exemplar.*" It was his first

[4] *Poetae Latini Minores*, 3, p. lix, p. 77.
[5] L. Müller: Rheinisches Museum, 25 (1870), 436.
[6] Lenaeus, above referred to. Introd., p. 9.
[7] Teuffel's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, 6th ed., § 332, 9.
[8] Pliny, *Epp.*, IV, 27. Teuffel's *Geschichte*, 6th ed., § 332, 6.
[9] *Epp.*, VI, 21.

attempt at this sort of writing, but he did not seem a beginner. "*non illi vis, non granditas, non subtilitas, non amaritudo, non dulcedo, non lepos defuit; ornavit virtutes, insectatus est vitia, fictis nominibus decenter, veris usus est apte.*" It receives high praise from Pliny. Ribbeck[10] remarks that it is an indication of the liberality of the age, that a satirical comedy in which names of living persons appeared could be written and admired.

[10] *Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung* 3, 292.

APULEIUS.

Apuleius (c. 124–? A. D.,) a native of Madaura, on the borderland of Numidia and Gaetulia in North Africa, was a fluent and versatile writer, master of both Greek and Latin. Among his literary works he produced satires, as we know by his own testimony. In the *Florida* 9 (p. 37 Oud.) we read: "*. . . fateor . . . me reficere poemata omnigenus apta virgae, lyrae, socco, coturno, item satiras ac gryphos, item historias varias rerum nec non orationes laudatas disertis nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis . . .*," etc.

Again in the same work, Chapter 20 (p. 98 Oud.): "*canit enim Empedocles carmina, Plato dialogos, Socrates hymnos, Epicharmus modos, Xenophon historias, Xenocrates satiras: Apuleius vester haec omnia novemque Musas pari studio colit . . .*," etc. As to the nature and style of these satires of Apuleius, whether Menippean or Horatian, and what kind of material they dealt with, we have no knowledge whatever.

But another work of Apuleius demands our attention: his longest and most important production, the "*Metamorphoseon Libri XI*," a prose romance of a fantastic, satirical character. In this the author narrates, in the first person, the numerous and varied adventures of one Lucius, a Corinthian, who by accident was transformed into an ass, and underwent many remarkable experiences before he regained his human form.

This work is based in part on a Greek romance entitled Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος, commonly ascribed to Lucian. There are some important alterations and additions in the work of Apuleius, especially the end of the story, which is on a much higher plane than in the Greek version,[1] but in the main the resem-

[1] W. H. D. Rouse: *Cupid and Psyche and Other Tales.* Introduction, p. xix.

blance is quite close. The work of Lucian, if he was really the author,[2] in turn was preceded by the two books of Μεταμορφώσεις of an otherwise unknown Lucius of Patrae, who is mentioned by Photius.[3]

Rohde believes that the Μεταμορφώσεις of Lucius of Patrae was written in a serious style, as if the author pretended, at least, to veracity; while the Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος was in a joking, satirical vein, perhaps with the definite idea of making fun of the earlier work,[4] and that Apuleius copied the general tone and manner of the latter.

Apuleius may not have begun his work with the deliberate intention of writing a satire on contemporary life, but it has long been recognized that such an element plays no small part in the composition, and it may very properly be classified as a satirical novel.[5]

The widespread superstition, the credulous acceptance of the most extravagant yarns, and various immoralities of the time, are depicted in a way sometimes gruesome, but often amusing and absurd. The narration of the experiences of an ass with human intelligence naturally gives opportunity for much that is comical and ridiculous. It does not seem too much to say that the very metamorphosis itself, with the unexpectedness of the transformation into a donkey instead of a bird, conveys a satirical hint that the road to the occult is a slippery path, and a slight misstep may produce results the reverse of satisfactory.

Touches like VI, 22, where Jupiter reproaches Cupid for causing him to violate the "*lex Iulia*," and VI, 23, where Mercury threatens delinquent deities with a fine of ten thousand *nummi*, are in line with the satirical tendency of the work.

[2] Erwin Rohde: *Zu Apuleius*, Rheinisches Museum, 40 (1885), 91.

[3] *Bibliotheca*, 129, p. 96 *b*, Bekker.

[4] Rheinisches Museum, 40, 91. See also Teuffel, *Lukians* Λούκιος *und Appuleius' Metamorphosen*, Rheinisches Museum, 19 (1864), 243.

[5] Teuffel in Pauly's *Realencyclopedie*, 6, 822 sub voce *Satira*. Bernhardy, *Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur*, 726. Ribbeck, *Geschichte*, 3, 337. Schwabe in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, 2, 250.

TERTULLIAN.

Among the early Christian writers in Latin, Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus occupies a prominent place. Carthage was the scene of his greatest activity: the dates of his birth and death are not known with certainty, but were approximately 150 and 230 A. D. Eusebius[1] mentions him as an eminent jurist at Rome, and many traces of his legal education are apparent in his writings. He was not Christian born, but made, as he himself would have phrased it.[2] After his conversion, however, he became a zealous advocate and defender of Christianity against paganism, and in his later life upheld the Montanist party in the Church against the orthodox.

The writings of Tertullian exercised a powerful influence on his successors in the Latin Church. His style was original, concise, and epigrammatic, often obscure, but strong and effective. He was not "absolutely without a trace of humor,"[3] but his humor was biting and caustic. He was less concerned with the stylistic excellence of his literary productions than with their subject matter. He was a very vigorous and impassioned writer, of great learning, a keen logical mind, intolerant of opposition, absolutely fearless in controversy; and he frequently relied on the satirical treatment of his themes,—now skilfully exposing the absurdities and inconsistencies of his opponents, making them appear ridiculous,[4] now reproaching them with the most intense and bitter irony.[5]

[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2, 2.

[2] *Apologeticum*, 18.

[3] Cruttwell, *A Literary History of Early Christianity*, 2, 569.

[4] E. g., *adv. Valentinianos*, where he expressly states that to be his purpose; cf. below p. 23 f.

[5] Bernhardy, *Grundriss*, 791. Ebert, *Geschichte der christlichen lateinischen Literatur*, 34. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, 1, 111. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, 1, 120.

Some of his works are almost wholly satirical, while in others satire is employed at intervals, and never fails in keenness.

The treatise *De Pallio* is an excellent example of Tertullian's use of satire.[6] This was written, probably about the year 208,[7] as a reply to those who criticized his action in discarding the Roman toga for the Greek pallium. Though brief, and apparently on a rather insignificant subject, the *De Pallio* is interesting, lively, and full of spice. The very beginning,—"Perpetual rulers of Africa, men of Carthage, of noble past and blessed present, I congratulate you on having fallen into such prosperous times as thus to have the leisure and the inclination to criticize people's clothes,"[8]—reminds one of Juvenal's sarcastic exclamation "*Respondes his, Iane pater? magna otia caeli!*"[9] Continuing with a rather pointed reference to the fact that the toga upheld by his critics is the garb of the nation that once overthrew Carthage, he passes over this with the ironical words "*sit nunc aliunde res, ne Poenicum inter Romanos aut erubescat aut doleat.*" Why should man be denied the freedom of changing his appearance for which nature is praised? For the whole face of the earth is continually changing, with convulsions of nature, the march of the seasons, the rise and decay of cities, etc. How delightful a change, for example, Tertullian remarks with keen mockery, has taken place in the Empire, "*eradicato omni aconito hostilitatis et cacto et rubo subdolae familiaritatis convulso, et amoenus super Alcinoi pometum et Midae rosetum.*"[10] Even beasts, though not possessed of garments, alter their looks by changing color or skin or in other ways. The pea-

[6] Teuffel in Pauly's *Realencyclopedie*, 6, 822, sub voce *Satira*. Salmasius, *Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus Liber de Pallio*, p. 61. Ebert, *Geschichte*, 53 f.

[7] A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, II, 2, 259.

[8] Principes semper Africae, viri Carthaginienses, vetustate nobiles, novitate felices, gaudeo vos tam prosperos temporum, cum ita vacat ac iuvat, habitus denotare.

[9] 6, 394.

[10] Chapter 2. Cf. Hauck, *Tertullians Leben und Schriften*, p. 383.

cock, the snake, the hyena, the chameleon, furnish examples of this love of variety for which the man is censured.

If the Roman dress is so essential, why, says Tertullian to his critics, do you treat your bodies as if you were Greeks? Whence this strange inconsistency? "*Prodigium est, haec sine pallio fieri. Illius est haec tota res Asiae. Quid tibi, Libya et Europa, cum xysticis munditiis, quae vestire non nosti? Revera enim quale est Graecatim depilari magis quam amiciri?*"[11]

Change of dress is blameworthy only when it offends nature, not merely custom. For Achilles to conceal himself beneath the gown of a girl, for Hercules to exchange garb with Omphale, for Alexander to discard the Macedonian mail for effeminate Eastern silk,—such acts deserve your censure. And why do you not criticize the relaxation of the ancient laws of female dress, or those who follow after this, that, or the other religious sect, attracted by the color of its devotees' costume?

We should not hesitate to abandon diadem and scepter, say nothing of the toga, for the pallium. For the pallium is more comfortable and simple and sensible than the toga. "I ask you frankly, when you have a toga on, how do you feel, dressed, or burdened? That you are wearing a garment, or carrying one? If you will not answer, your actions shall speak: I will follow you home and see what you do as soon as you cross the threshold."

But let the pallium plead its own cause. "I am under no obligations to the forum, the campus, the curia; I seek no social recognition, I do not haunt the evil-smelling markets, the tribunals, the courts; I have nothing to do with judicial, or military, or political affairs; I have withdrawn from the people. I live for myself, and yet I benefit the public by prescribing remedies for wide-spread maladies. I have no leniency toward vice. I cauterize that ambition which makes a man spend half a million for a single piece of furniture. I

[11] Chapter 4.

plunge my scalpel into that cruelty which throws slaves to the fishes, that ultimately they may become food for their own masters. I amputate that gluttony which seeks rare and unheard-of dishes. I offer purifying drugs to uncleanness and drunkenness. Even without my words, the very sight of me brings a blush to the cheek of the evil-doer.

"I represent also other virtues. The first literary men and musicians and orators and physicians and poets and astronomers wore the pallium. All liberal arts are covered by my four corners.

"A fine loss of standing the discarding of the toga must bring, now that even gladiators and their trainers are clad therein!"

Here Tertullian reverts to his own person and closes with the words "But now the pallium has attained new heights of glory. Gaude pallium et exsulta! A better philosophy has adorned thee since thou becamest the garb of a Christian."

The *De Pallio* is an interesting and enigmatical work. What was its motive? Why had Tertullian discarded the toga for the pallium? It was not a symbol of his conversion, for he had been a Christian for years before the date of this satire. The most reasonable explanation is that he wished it to symbolize his withdrawal to a more severe and ascetic level, like the philosophers who had worn the pallium before him.[12]

It is quite obvious that much more is involved than a mere justification of a man's changing the style of his clothes. The ostensible occasion for the work is hardly more than a convenient starting-point for a satire on certain phases of contemporary life. Tertullian does more than defend: he not only parries, but thrusts, with the sharp rapier of his satire, at his fellow-citizens, their idleness in criticizing trifles while passing over things of moment, their inconsistent professions of regard for the established order contrasted with

[12] Gaston Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, I, 242 ff.

their abandonment of the best that the old order stood for, and many of the common vices of the period.

In spite of the undoubted sincerity of this, we should probably be wrong in taking the *De Pallio* as an expression of Tertullian's own original ideas clamoring for utterance. The work was more or less a "jeu d'esprit," a product of the study.[13] There are suspicious discrepancies between parts of the *De Pallio* and Tertullian's other writings. Elsewhere, for example, he does not recognize anything in common between philosophy and Christianity. In the *De Praescriptione*, 1, 7, he says, "*Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid academiae et ecclesiae?*" And in the *Apologeticum*, 46: "*Adeo quid simile philosophus et Christianus? Graeciae discipulus et caeli?*" Yet in the *De Pallio* he does not oppose the ancient culture, but rather admires the sages who had worn the pallium before him. Christianity is a "*melior philosophia.*"

Reasoning along these lines, J. Geffcken[14] presents arguments to prove that the *De Pallio* may very likely have been based on or copied from an earlier Roman satire, possibly by Varro. There are frequent resemblances between the style of the *De Pallio* and the customary style of diatribe and satire. The device of a fictitious opponent is one which is used here. The author begins by addressing "*Principes semper Africae,*" and consistency would demand that he adhere to the use of the plural. But presently we find "*quid denotas hominem*" (Chapter 2) and "*tamen, inquis, ita a toga ad pallium?*" (Chapter 5), and so on, as if he were carrying on a discussion with a single interlocutor.[15] Again, the historical treatment of clothing, such as Tertullian uses, reminds one of the diatribe, as does the general tone of advice to live according to nature. The curious inaccuracy in the description of the chameleon in Chapter 3 is also best explained by the assumption of an earlier model. Tertullian himself, an African, must have

[13] Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 1, 257 f.

[14] *Kynika und Verwandtes.*

[15] Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, p. 129 *n.* Geffcken, *op. cit.*, 88, 129.

known that this animal does not live on air, but would have copied this mistaken idea from his original without correction.[16] Most of all, perhaps, in the speech of the personified pallium, do we observe that the tone is thoroughly *Roman*. It is Roman landmarks,—the forum, the campus, the curia, and Roman characters,—M. Tullius, Vedius Pollio, Hortensius, that are continually referred to, in spite of the fact that the *De Pallio* is presumably written by a Carthaginian for Carthaginians. And finally, this theory also offers a satisfactory explanation for the tone of respect for philosophy, augury, and other non-Christian branches of learning.[17]

One of the most important of Tertullian's literary works is his *Apologeticum*, composed about 197 A. D.[18] This is a carefully written defence of Christianity against the attacks of the pagans, and is addressed to the rulers of the state, as if the author were pleading his cause before a judicial tribunal. The tone is intensely serious, indignant at times, and the work abounds in bitter satire.[19]

"What sort of laws are those which are employed against us only by the cruel and unjust emperors? Laws which Trajan partially nullified in forbidding active measures against the Christians, which never a Hadrian, though keen to investigate novelties, never a Vespasian, though victor over the Jews, never a Pius, never a Verus enforced. If we are evil, much more should these emperors, foes of evil, have sought to root us out."

Chapter 6 is satire pure and simple, directed against the degeneracy of the Romans as compared with their ancestors, whom they professed to imitate. "Now let those most scrupulous defenders and avengers of the laws and institutes of our fathers make answer concerning their own fidelity and

[16] Geffcken, *op. cit.*, 84–85.

[17] Geffcken, *op. cit.*, 88, 130.

[18] Harnack, *Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur*, II, 2, 257.

[19] Le Nourry in Oehler's edition of Tertullian, 3, 116. Milman, *History of Christianity*, 2, 215.

honor and reverence toward the decrees of our ancestors, whether in no point they have fallen short or deviated, whether they have not really destroyed the essential spirit of the old discipline. Whither have those laws gone which restrained extravagance and ostentation? Luxury and immodesty run riot, both among men and women. Even the old austere religious laws you have repealed. Piso and Gabinius—and they were not Christians—expelled Isis and Serapis and Arpocrates from all Italy: you of today confer high honors upon them. You continually praise antiquity while at the same time renouncing it in practice.[20]

"The charges of crimes against the Christians are so monstrous as to be incredible; yet similar crimes are well attested as existing among many nations and classes, yes, even among the deities, of the old religion. But the two species of blindness easily go together, so that those who do not see that which is, seem to see that which is not.[21]

"If Liber was deified for revealing the vine to man, Lucullus has been cheated of his just deserts in not receiving similar honors, for he first brought the cherry from the East to Italy.

"You use axe and saw more vigorously in making the idols you worship than in destroying the bodies of the Christians. We are condemned to dig for metals. Thence arise your gods. We are exiled to islands. It is usually in an island somewhere that your gods are wont to be born, or to die. If any divinity comes from that, then those who are punished are sanctified, and tortures have the effect of rendering the victim divine."

The style of the *Apologeticum* differs from that of the *De Pallio*. The latter is shorter and its object is less definite: it is more a satire in the strict sense of the word. In the *Apologeticum* the use of a satirical style is a means to an end, used to sharpen the weapons of the invective and make them more telling. There is scarcely a chapter which does not

[20] Similarity in thought to the *De Pallio* is quite noticeable here.
[21] Chapters 8, 9.

ridicule with keen irony the attitude of the pagans, or convict them in fiery, passionate language on charges graver than their own. This is one of the most noticeable characteristics of Tertullian as a writer. He occupies an anomalous position as the representative of a cause supposed to be harassed and persecuted and on the defensive. He feels more at home as the prosecuting attorney than as the counsel for the defense. Starting out to defend a position he soon ingeniously manipulates his arguments so as to put himself on the aggressive. He is never content with clearing his party of the charges against it; he brings counter-charges against the accusers. Thus it has been said of the *Apologeticum*, "After Tertullian's defense the magistrate had no alternative between condemning the prisoner, or—taking his place."[22]

In the treatise *adversus Valentinianos* Tertullian frankly avows that satire is his aim; that is, he announces his deliberate intention of attempting to make the adherents of that heresy ridiculous.[23] In a very naive, frequently most amusing fashion our author keeps up a running fire of humorous satirical comment on the fantastic cosmogony of the Valentinians, and

[22] Woodham, *Tertulliani Liber Apologeticus*, Preface, p. xliii. The two books *Ad Nationes* are in content very similar to the *Apologeticum*. Tertullian takes a slightly different standpoint here, varying with the character of the readers for whom the two works were written. While the material is much the same, the treatment in the *Apologeticum* is somewhat more orderly, and the element of law and governmental policy in regard to the Christians is emphasized. The books *Ad Nationes* were directed, as the title implies, to the people rather than to the magistrates, and, if possible, are even more sarcastic and uncompromising in their indictment of heathenism. They were probably written about the same time as the *Apologeticum*, perhaps as a rough draft later expanded into the other work. Harnack, *Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur*, II, 2, 257. Hauck, *Tertullians Leben und Schriften*, 71 ff. Schanz, *Geschichte, Handbuch*, 8, III, 286.

[23] Ostendam, sed non imprimam vulnera. Sed si ridebitur alicubi, materiis ipsis satisfiet. Multa sunt sic digna revinci, ne gravitate adorentur. Vanitate proprie festivitas cedit. Congruit et veritati ridere, quia laetans, de aemulis suis ludere, quia secura est. Curandum plane ne risus eius rideatur si fuerit indignus; ceterum ubicunque dignus risus, officium est. Denique hoc modo incipiam. Chapter 6.

undoubtedly succeeds in his effort at ridicule. Thus, in Chapter 15, he expounds one detail of the origin of matter: "Come now, let the Pythagoreans and Stoics, and Plato himself, learn about the real source and substance of matter, which they would have as already existent: something which not even Hermes Trismegistus, master of all physicists, ever thought of. . . . For from her tears (namely those of Achamoth, one of the strange race of beings created by the Valentinian system) flowed forth all water. Observe the different kinds of tears she had: salt and bitter and sweet and warm and cold drops and pitchy and iron-tasting and sulphurous and poisonous, so that thence trickled down the Nonacris, which was the death of Alexander, and thence the river of the Lyncestae, which makes men intoxicated, and thence the Salmacis, which effeminates. The rains of heaven sobbed forth Achamoth and we in our cisterns take pains to save and keep another's grief and tears."

There are other works of Tertullian in which the satirical element plays a more or less important part. In the *De Spectaculis* he inveighs against the theater, charging that men go there to see what they abhor outside.[24] The last chapter contains a vivid and mocking picture of the magnificent spectacle,—far greater and more realistic than that shown in any theater—which will one day be presented to the saints in heaven by the sight of the tortures of the damned.

In the *De Cultu Feminarum* he satirizes the immoderate love of jewelry and fine clothes, and excessive care of the body, which were becoming all too prevalent in the Christian Church as its membership came to include the wealthier classes.[25] The *De Pudicitia* and the *De Ieiuniis* deserve mention also.[26]

[24] Cf. Juvenal, 11, 165–6.

[25] J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature*, p. 253. Hauck, *Tertullians Leben und Schriften*, 31 ff.

[26] Schanz, *Geschichte*, III, 315. Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 275.

In fact, it would probably be difficult to find any of Tertullian's works in which he did not avail himself, to a greater or less degree, of a bitingly satirical style. This is sometimes more delicate, as in the *De Pallio*, and sometimes more crude and unrestrained, as in some of the controversial works. But at least enough has been said to justify the inclusion of Tertullian in such a survey as the present. Tertullian alone furnishes abundant material to set over against the remarkable statement of Wernsdorf[27] that no satire will be found among Christian writers, because its acrimony and bitterness were contrary to the holiness and charity of the Christian character.

[27] *Poetae Latini Minores*, 3, Preface, p. xxv.

COMMODIANUS

In regard to the life, or even nationality, of Commodianus, perhaps the earliest Christian writer of verse, very little can be definitely determined. He is mentioned by Pope Gelasius, who, in the decree *de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, issued in 496, enumerates the works of Commodianus among those of the latter class, on account of certain doctrinal tendencies shown in them; and by Gennadius, about the same date, who speaks disparagingly of his style.[1] Beyond these references, Commodianus' own writings are our only source of information about himself, and widely divergent opinions, based on internal evidence, are held by different scholars. Ebert[2] sees, in the *Carmen Apologeticum*, 808 ff., references to the invasion of the Goths and the persecution of the Christians during the reign of the Emperor Decius, and sets the date of the composition at 249 A. D. This is also the opinion of Schanz[3], Manitius,[4] Dombart,[5] and others. Jülicher[6] and Harnack[7] allow latitude of a century later, while Brewer[8] argues strongly for as late a time as the middle of the fifth century. Commodianus was probably an African,[9] though the prefix *nomen Gasei* of the last poem of the second

[1] Scripsit mediocri sermone quasi versu adversus paganos. . . . vili satis et crasso ut ita dixerim sensu disseruit, illis (the pagans) stuporem, nobis desperationem incutiens. *De viris illustribus*, 15.

[2] Abhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 5 (1870), 387 ff.

[3] *Geschichte*, III, 427.

[4] *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, 28 ff.

[5] Edition of Commodianus, Volume XV of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Preface, p. i–ii.

[6] Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, 4, 773.

[7] *Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur*, II, 2, 436.

[8] *Kommodian von Gaza*, 29 ff.

[9] Manitius, *Geschichte*, p. 29.

book of the *Instructiones* is also taken by some as an indication that he was a native of Gaza in Palestine.[10] But any attempt at the solution of these problems is beyond the range of the present investigation.

Commodianus wrote in dactylic hexameter, but in a hexameter in which the classical rules of quantity and elision are ignored. The style is hard and wooden and often obscure, but this is to be ascribed to the fact that he was writing to be read by uneducated people, and hence employed idioms and artificial devices, such as the acrostic form, suitable for this purpose.

The *Carmen Apologeticum* is an expository and descriptive poem, urging all men to embrace Christianity, for the end of the world is near. It contains considerable theological dogma, and a mystical and vivid account of Antichrist and the end of the world.

The two books of *Instructiones* are made up of short poems in which the initial letters of the lines, taken in order, give in acrostic form the title of the poem. Thus, the first letters of 1, 1 form PRAEFATIO, of 1, 4 SATVRNVS, and so on. Many of these may be fitly termed satires against the pagan deities, and the eager zeal of the new-made convert[11] shows itself clearly in the scornful portraits he draws of the ancient gods.

How, he asks, could Saturn grow old if he was a god? He was really a mortal king, and stupid enough to swallow a stone in place of his own son.[12] And as for Jupiter:

> De Fulmine Ipsius Iovis Audite:[13]
> Dicitis o stulti: Iovis tonat, fulminat ipse.
> Etsi parvulitas sic sensit, cur anni dicentes?

[10] Ebert, Abhandlungen 420, Brewer, 162 ff., Boissier, Melanges Renier, 39.

[11] Cf. Gennadius, l. c. Factus itaque Christianus et volens aliquid studiorum muneris offerre Christo, etc.

[12] 1, 4.

[13] 1, 6.

Fuistis infantes: numquid et semper eritis?
Versari maturum in infantia non capit aevum
Lusus puerilis cessit: sic et corda recedant;
Moribus utique consilia vestra debentur.
Insipiens ergo Iovem tonitruare tu credis
Natum hic in terris et lacte caprino nutritum;
Ergo si illum devorasset * * * Saturnus,

In istis temporibus quis pluebat illo defuncto?
Praesertim mortali patre deus nasci credatur?
Saturnus in terris senuit et defecit in ipsis.
Illum non aliquis prophetavit ante pronasci.
Vel, si tonat ipse, lex ab ipso lata fuisset.
Seducunt historiae fatuos confictae inanes.

Ille autem Cretae regnavit et ibi defecit.
Omnipotens vobis factus Semeles amator.
Vivus ipse modo amaret similiter ille.
Inpuros oratis et dicitis esse caelestes
Semine mortali natos de Gigantibus illis.

Auditis et legitis natum in terra fuisse:
Unde bene meruit corruptor ascendere caelum
Dicitur et fulmen Cyclopas illi fecisse,
Inmortalis enim habuit a mortalibus arma.
Tot reum criminibus, parricidam quoque suorum,
Ex auctoritate vestra contulistis in altum.

Mercurius:[14]

Mercurius vester fiat cum saraballo depictus
Et galea et planta pinnatus et cetera nudus.
Rem video miram, deum cum saccello volare:
Currite pauperculi cum gremio quo volat ille,
Ut sacculum effundat, vos extunc estote parati.
Respicite pictum, quoniam vobis hic ab alto
Iactabit nummos; vos tunc saltate securi.
Vane, non insanis, colere deos pictos in axe?
Si vir esse nescis, cum besteis perge morari.

Apollo Sortilegus Falsus:[15]

Apollinem facitis citharoedum atque divinum.
Primum de moechia natus in insula Delo;
Oblata mercede postmodum structuram secutus

[14] I, 9.
[15] I, 11.

Laomedontique regi Troianorum muros eduxit
Locavitque sese, quem deum seducti putatis;
Ossibus cuius amor Cassandrae flagravit,

Subdole quem lusit virgo, falliturque divinus,
Officio verbenis non potuit scire bicordem;
Repudiatus enim discessit inde divinus.
Torruit hunc virgo specie, quam ille deberet.
Illa prior utique debuerat deum amasse.
Lascivientemque Dafinem sic coepit amare.
Et tamen insequitur, dum vult violare puellam:
Gratis amat stultus, nec potuit consequi cursu.
Vel, si deus erat, occurreret illi per auras;
Sub tectis illa prior venit, remansitque divinus.

Fallit vos gens hominum, nam vi robusti fuerunt.
A primitia quoque pecora pavisse refertur.
Lusibus in positis dum mitteret discum in altum,
Sublapsum non potuit retinere, prostravit amicum:
Ultimus ille dies fuit Hyacinthi sodalis.
Si divinus erat, mortem praecessisset amici.

Thus god after god is satirized in these artificial yet earnest little poems. It will be noticed that Commodianus adopts at times the well-known device of introducing a fictitious single interlocutor into the midst of his arguments. Again, speaking of the foolishness of the age,—HEBETVDO SAECULI, he says:[16]

Heu doleo, cives, sic vos hebetari de mundo!
Excurrit alius ad sortes, aves aspicit alter,
Belantum cruore fuso malus inspicit alter
Et cupit audire responsa bona crudelis.
Tot duces et reges ubi sunt consulti de vita,
Vel portenta sua scisse quo profuit illis?
Discite quaeso bonum, cives, simulacra cavete:
Omnipotentis enim in legem quaerite cuncti.

Sic ipsi conplacuit domino dominorum in altis,
Ad probationem nostram daemones in mundo vagari
Et tamen ex alia parte mandata praemisit,
Caelestis fieri qui relinquant aras eorum.
Unde non hoc curo disputare parvo libello:
Lex docet in medio; vos consulete pro vobis!
In duas intrastis vias: condiscite rectam.

[16] I, 22.

The point of view here is not dissimilar, as far as it goes, to that of the Stoic philosopher in the Damasippus satire of Horace.

In the second book of the *Instructiones* Commodianus addresses his fellow-Christians in tones of reproof and exhortation. Poems 18 and 19 deal with that favorite theme of the satirical writer, female love of fine clothes, jewelry, and personal adornment.[17]

These acrostic poems are rather stiff and stilted, as such poems generally must be. Commodianus was not a poet of high rank, and was not writing in polished verse for an educated body of readers. His style shows the cramping effects of the form of composition chosen. His satire is not that of tolerant, gentle raillery at the faults and foibles of mankind, nor yet of indignant invective against the evil-doer. His attacks on heathenism are of the common type to be found among early Christian apologists. Persecution and ridicule of the new religion engendered a spirit of intolerance and obstinacy. Commodianus' satirical acrostics reflect this feeling. He does not enter into serious discussions or arguments, but picks out a myth here and a legend there, and takes them as typical and as a complete characterization of the person or attitude which he wishes to satirize.

[17] Cf. Tertullian, *De Cultu Feminarum.* Prudentius, *Hamartigenia*, 264 ff. Hieronymus, *infra*, p. 91. Juvenal, 6, 457 ff.

ARNOBIUS

According to St. Jerome's Chronicle, for the year 2343 (326 A. D.), Arnobius was a citizen of the town of Sicca, in Numidia. He was a teacher of rhetoric, numbering Lactantius among his pupils,[1] and a prominent opponent of the Christians. But, influenced by dreams, he renounced his former beliefs, and sought to join the Christians. The bishop to whom he applied for admission to the Church was, not unnaturally, somewhat skeptical of the sincerity of such an unexpected convert, and demanded some proof of his good faith. It was to satisfy this requirement, the story goes, that Arnobius wrote his seven books *Adversus Gentes*, or *Adversus Nationes*, as the manuscript evidence favors. This account is open to some criticism,[2] but as there are some evidences of hurry and incompleteness in the work, and the author's acquaintance with the Christian faith appears rather limited, it may be taken as essentially reliable.[3] The date given by St. Jerome is probably wrong.[4] The work is dated by Harnack[5] from 304 to 310 A. D.

The seven books may be divided as follows:[6] Books 1 and 2 are of a purely apologetic character. Their tone is in the main that of a dispassionate (*familiari et placida oratione* 1, 2) examination into and refutation of various charges that had been brought against the Christians, interspersed with more or less of philosophical discussion, as to the nature of evil, of the human soul, etc. Arnobius points out that many charges are entirely baseless; that in regard to others the

[1] Hieronymus, *De Viris Illustribus*, 80.

[2] E. g. Bryce and Campbell, *The Seven Books of Arnobius Adversus Gentes*, Introduction, p. x.

[3] Schanz, *Geschichte*, III, 439–40. Cruttwell, *Literary History*, 2, 631.

[4] See Bryce and Campbell, Introduction, i–ii.

[5] *Geschichte*, II, 2, 415.

[6] Ebert, *Geschichte*, 65. Cruttwell, *Literary History*, 2, 638.

facts are distorted and exaggerated, and that even were they true, they could easily be paralleled by more extreme cases from heathen mythology.

Books 3–7 are of a different sort. Instead of being apologetic, defensive, they are polemical, aggressive, and often strongly satirical. Arnobius is still arguing, and keeps the idea of a definite opponent before us constantly by his rhetorical use of the second person plural, and by such words as *inquit*, *inquiunt*, etc., but frequently he is carried away by his earnestness, and in addition to argument, he overwhelms his adversary with sarcastic pictures of the utter absurdity and illogicalness of his religious systems. Books 3–5 are directed against the heathen polytheism, 6 and 7 against their rites and forms of worship. His attack on heathenism is much abler than his defence of Christianity.[7]

A brief survey of the last five books may illustrate the occasions and methods of Arnobius' use of satire.

It is to be noted at the outset that Arnobius was anything but fastidious in the choice of his material. Being desirous of depicting his opponents' religion in the worst possible light, he narrates some of the most scandalous and immoral stories about the gods that he can lay his hands on, and makes them the object of his satirical rhetoric. To modern feeling he goes far beyond the limit he professes to set up in Book 5, Chapter 27: "*o qualia, o quanta inridentes potuimus cavillantesque depromere, si non religio nos gentis et litterarum prohiberet auctoritas.*" The *auctoritas litterarum* does not seem to have restrained him from repeating a good deal of coarseness.

In Book 3 Arnobius points out that the heathen cannot prove that there may not be other gods beside those they worship, of unknown name and unlimited numbers. Their gods, moreover, are constantly spoken of as if divided into two sexes, like mortals. Cicero showed the absurdity of this.

[7] Alzog, *Handbuch der Patrologie*, 206. Cruttwell, *Literary History*, 2, 638. Meyer, *De ratione et argumento apologetici Arnobiani*, 217.

Chapter 10 contains in drastic language a scornful picture of the conditions which must necessarily result from sex distinctions among the gods. It is senseless to believe that they really have bodies, and irreverent to endow them with bodily attributes otherwise.

He next satirizes the offices attributed to the various deities. "I ask you: what reason is there, what stern necessity, what occasion for the gods to have learned and be acquainted with these trades, as if they were good-for-nothing mechanics? For in heaven there is song and music: that the nine sisters may skilfully join and harmonize times and rhythms. In the stars are forests, groves, woods: for Diana's benefit, the mighty huntress. . . . The gods are seized by disease, wounded, hurt: that he of Epidaurus may heal them. . . . They are in need of garments: that the Tritonian maiden may deftly weave for them, and fit them out with three-ply tunics, or silken, according to the weather."[8]

And again: "Unxia, they say, presides over anointings, Cinxia over unloosings, and most holy Victa and Potua over eating and drinking. O excellent and wonderful interpretation of the divine powers! Unless brides smeared with ointment their husbands' door-posts, unless ardent husbands unbound the virgin girdle, unless people ate and drank, would the gods not have names?"[9]

[8] Rogo: quae ratio est, quae tam dura necessitas, quae causa, ut artificia haec superi tamquam viles noverint atque habeant sellularii? In caelo enim cantatur et psallitur: ut intervalla et numeros vocum novem conserant scitule ac modulenter sorores. Sunt in sidereis motibus silvae, sunt lustra, sunt nemora: ut venationum praepotens habeatur in expeditionibus Diana. . . . Corripiuntur dii morbis et vulnerari, vexari aliqua ex re possunt: ut cum exegerit ratio, auxiliator subveniat Epidaurius. . . . Vestis indigent tegmine: ut virgo Tritonia curiose eis stamen neat et qualitate pro temporis aut trilices tunicas aut de serico componat. Etc. Book 3, Chapter 21.

[9] Unctionibus, inquit, superest Unxia, cingulorum Cinxia replicatione, Victa et Potua sanctissimae victui potuique procurant. O egregia numinum et singularis interpretatio potestatum: nisi postes virorum adipali unguine oblinerentur ab sponsis, nisi virginalia vincula iam ferventes dissolverent atque imminentes mariti, nisi potarent et manderent homines, di nomina non haberent? Book 3, Chapter 25.

The myths themselves are so inconsistent as to render it impossible to believe in the old gods. If Janus is the year, he cannot have built Janiculum. If Jove is the ether, he cannot have been concealed from his father in a Cretan cave. If Bacchus and Apollo and the sun are all the same thing, then there cannot be either a Bacchus or Apollo, and thus at one blow are wiped out of existence "*Semeleius, Pythius, alter feculantae hilaritatis dator, Sminthiorum alter pernicies murum.*"

In Book 4 Arnobius shows the absurdity of assuming gods of common things, for it is impossible to know when to stop, and there might as well be special deities presiding over the most insignificant trifles. Sometimes several names are given to one god, sometimes several gods are given one name. If all the stories are true, there must be five Minervas instead of one. Chapter 16 contains an amusing, satirical picture of the complications that might ensue if the five goddesses should fly up and wrangle over which one was entitled to the benefits of a given sacrifice. In Chapters 20, 21, he heaps ironical question on ironical question: do the gods, then, have betrothals and marriages, like mortals? And was Jupiter, the terrible god of the thunderbolt, once lulled to sleep with the noise of rattles and broken words?

In Book 5 the same arguments are continued. Arnobius relates several of the ancient myths at length, such as the deception of Jupiter by Numa, the story of Acdestis, of Attis, and others, showing with keen satire the absurdity and indecency of such religious beliefs, and how immoral and degrading it is that such tales should be told about one who is worshiped as the Supreme Ruler of the universe. To the plea that they are not literally true, but mere allegories, that the names of divinities are used symbolically for common things, as "Jove" for "rain," "Ceres" for "earth," etc., he returns answer that such an explanation is inconsistent and impossible, "because everything which has been done and set down in a book cannot be turned into an allegory,

nor can a thing done be undone, or the nature of an event be changed to something entirely different. Can the Trojan war become the condemnation of Socrates? or the battle of Cannae the cruel proscription of Sulla?"[10] This book closes with the satirical exclamation "*Verecundia laude condigna! Erubescitis panem et vinum nominare et pro coitu Venerem non metuitis dicere.*"

Books 6 and 7 are devoted to a satirical exposition of the absurdity of the heathen methods of worship. The finest temples must seem like base huts to the gods, who can have no need of shelter. Statues of the gods do not represent the deity, but the wanton fancy of the artists, who "*alter alterum vincere contentiosa aemulatione quaerebant, non Venus ut augustior fieret sed ut Phryna pro Venere staret.*" Do the gods dwell in figures of earthenware, or expand or contract themselves to fit the size of the images? If they are in the statues and temples, why do not they protect them from destruction? "O dreadful forms of terror and fear, to inspire such lasting awe in the human breast as to restrain mankind from all deeds of evil and crime,—little sickles and keys and caps and sandals and staves and cups and musical instruments and horns of fruit, naked bodies and obscenities unashamed!"[11]

The sacrifice of innocent animals is satirized in 7, 9 by a speech put in the mouth of an ox. The belief in gaining divine favor by sacrifice is reduced to an absurdity: suppose two warring nations should offer equal sacrifices, would not the gods be at a loss which side to aid? Why, he ironically asks, do you offer special sacrificial animals to special gods? Do they have religious scruples, or weak digestions? "O marve-

[10] 5, 38.

[11] O species formidinum dirae metuendique terrores, propter quos genus hominum torpedine in perpetua adfigeretur, nihil moliretur attonitum ab omnique se actu sceleroso flagitiosoque frenaret: falciculae claves caliandria fomites talaria baculi tympaniola tibiae psalteria, mammae promptae atque ingentes, cantharuli forcipes cornuaque pomifera, nuda corpora feminarum et veretrorum magnitudines publicatae! 6, 26.

lous magnitude of the gods, comprehended by no mortal man, or by any creature, if indeed their good-will is to be obtained by the most worthless parts of beasts, if they do not lay aside their anger till they see entrails and offae offered up on their altars."[12]

Almost everyone will agree with the judgment of St. Jerome,[13] "*Arnobius inaequalis et nimius, et absque operis sui partitione confusus.*" He does not know moderation, and his incessant use of sarcasm and scornful query palls on his readers in a short time. His style is artificial and tiresome—no other man ever used the rhetorical question so much as Arnobius did.[14] But some allowance must be made for the probability that the work never underwent a revision, which might have removed some of its defects. On the other hand, there are many points of interest in Arnobius' work. It is valuable for its array of mythical legends and obscure rites of worship, and for its richness of vocabulary.[15] It is also valuable as a good example of controversial writing of a certain type by an able and intelligent man, who, whatever his deficiencies as as apologist, lacked nothing in zeal or in the ability to pierce the weak points in his enemies' armor with a sharp and biting satire.[16]

[12] O deorum magnitudo mirabilis, o nullis hominum comprehensa, nullis intellecta naturis siquidem ut prosint testiculis pecudum redimuntur et rumis, neque prius iras atque animos ponunt nisi sibi adoleri paratas conspexerint nenias offasque reddier penitas. 7, 25.

[13] Epistle 58, 10 (Ad Paulinum).

[14] Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, 2, 605. Schanz, *Geschichte*, III, 444. Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, 306.

[15] Cruttwell, *Literary History*, 2, 641. Bryce and Campbell, Introduction, p. xiv–xv.

[16] Such satire of superstitious beliefs as is found in Arnobius and others of the Christian writers may be paralleled in a measure by the section of Juvenal's sixth satire, from line 511 on, with its references to the credulous, blind obedience yielded to Oriental fakirs by ignorant women, and their belief in Jewish and Chaldaean fortune-tellers. Entirely different, however, are such matters as the "*Thessala philtra*" of Juvenal, 6, 610 f., and the woollen and waxen images of Horace's eighth satire of the first book. These are not connected with religion at all, properly speaking, but are survivals of a very wide-spread, primitive belief in magic.

AUSONIUS

Decimus Magnus Ausonius of Burdigala (Bordeaux), 310–395 A. D., professor of rhetoric, tutor to the young prince Gratianus, man of letters and learning, public official, and poet, was apparently a man of singularly fortunate circumstances and gentle, contented disposition. Yet it is not unreasonable that such a man should at times have employed the pen of satire. Horace also was under the highest patronage, and calm and even-tempered. We should not be surprised, however, to find that satirical writing in the sense of indignant invective, or bitter irony, was distasteful to him and foreign to his nature.

Thus in writing *commemorationes* of his friends and colleagues, he praises his friend Tiberius Victor Minervius, an eminent orator, for the fact that

> Nullo felle tibi mens livida, tum sale multo
> Lingua dicax blandis et sine lite iocis.[1]

Similarly Attius Patera, a rhetorician, is characterized as being, among his other admirable qualities,

> Salibus modestus felle nullo perlitis.[2]

The same quality is referred to in both passages. Brightness and wit, "*nullo felle*," without sarcasm and bitterness, are to Ausonius qualities to be admired.

Of even more importance is his letter to Tetradius the satirist,[3] in which he writes: "Tetradius, you who enrich the wit of old from your abundant store of eloquence, and take pains lest your compositions be harsh and bitter, lacking pleasantness; who mingling honey and gall in the same song

[1] *Com. Prof.*, 1, 31–2.
[2] *Com. Prof.*, 4, 19.
[3] Epistle 11.

allow the Muses no rest, who color equally what is flat to the taste and what is harsh; who surpass the rude verses of Suessa (Lucilius) and yield in age but not in ability:" etc.[4]

This letter is of value not only objectively for the reference to Tetradius, but subjectively for its light on Ausonius' attitude. Tetradius takes pains not to make his satires gloomy and unpleasant: that constitutes part of their charm in Ausonius' eyes. It seems fairly clear that he had little sympathy or liking for invective and sarcasm. Is this perhaps to be taken as a reference to contemporary writers of such a character?

But surely epigrams, of which Ausonius wrote a great number, are naturally of a certain unpleasantness and sharpness. What are we to think of Ausonius' epigrams? It is hardly possible to take them as being altogether serious expressions of the poet's thought. Many of them are avowedly mere translations from the Greek, probably made not so much from an interest in their content as from a desire to exercise his skill in reproducing their form. The mixture of Greek and Latin verses, half-verses, and words, the almost endless variations on the same themes, preclude the possibility of viewing the epigrams as anything more than rhetorical exercises, for the pure pleasure of making formally correct verses, and based on the most convenient models at hand.[5]

We know that Ausonius must have been somewhat acquainted with Lucilius, even if only through anthologies, for he refers

[4] O qui vetustos uberi facundia
Sales opimas Tetradi,
Cavesque ne sit tristis et dulci carens
Amara concinnatio,
Qui felle carmen atque melle temperans
Torpere Musas non sinis
Pariterque fucas, quaeque gustu ignava sunt,
Et quae sapore tristia;
Rudes Camenas qui Suessae praevenis
Aevoque cedis, non stilo: etc.

[5] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 30–31, 38–39.

to him several times, and often imitates his style. In the letter quoted above, it is Lucilius whom he takes as a standard with which to compare Tetradius. In Epistle 16 he gives an example of Lucilian tmesis:

Invenies praesto subiuncta petorrita mulis:
Villa Lucani- mox potieris -aco;
Rescisso disces conponere nomine versum
Lucili vatis sic imitator eris.

His use of such queer combinations as "gelidoτρομεροί," "πολυcantica," "πολυrisa," "forῳ," "causαις,"etc., as are found in Epistle 8, are clearly modelled after such Lucilian phrases as "εὐπατέρειam," "vinοῖο bonοῖο," etc.[6]

The little poem *De Herediolo*,[7] said to be written "*Luciliano stilo*,"[8] is of a very Horatian tone and sentiment. E. g.:

Parvum herediolum, fateor, set nulla fuit res
Parva umquam aequanimis, adde etiam unanimis.
Ex animo rem stare aequum puto, non animum ex re.[9]
Cuncta cupit Croesus, Diogenes nihilum:
Spargit Aristippus mediis in Syrtibus aurum,[10]
Aurea non satis est Lydia tota Midae.
Cui nullus fuit cupiendi, est nullus habendi;
Ille opibus modus est quem statuas animo.

Another kind of quasi-satirical writing is to be seen in some of Ausonius' letters to Theon, of which he himself says, "*instaurata est satirica et ridicula concinnatio*,"[11] as for example in 14, 44 ff., where he jokingly invests him with all the graces of Adonis, or in 15, where he devotes twenty-five lines to a piling up of paraphrases of the number "30," in an

[6] Birt, *Zwei Politische Satiren des Alten Rom.*, p. 71–72. Ribbeck, *Geschichte*, 3, 345.

[7] *Domestica*, 1.

[8] On account of the moral aphorisms in it. Cf. L. Müller, Lucilius, p. 298, 40.

[9] Cf. Horace, *Epistles*, I, 11, 29-30:

Quod petis, hic est;
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

[10] Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, II, 3, 100 ff.

[11] Epistle 15, 8.

exaggerated effort to explain to Theon's pretended ignorance how many he means.[12] But this is all in fun, merely gentle, good-natured teasing of a friend.[13]

[12] "Quod si . . . ignorat alto mens obesa viscere."

[13] Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes*, p. 183.

TETRADIUS

TETRADIUS, a grammarian of about the middle of the fourth century, at Iculisma (Angoulème), is known to us only from a letter to him from Ausonius, whose pupil he had been. We have none of his works, but know that he wrote satires in imitation of Lucilius.

Ausonius, in Epistle 11, addressing Tetradius, says:

> O qui vetustos uberi facundia
> Sales opimas Tetradi,
> Cavesque ne sit tristis et dulci carens
> Amara concinnatio,
> Qui felle carmen atque melle temperans
> Torpere Musas non sinis
> Pariterque fucas, quaeque gustu ignava sunt,
> Et quae sapore tristia;
> Rudes Camenas qui Suessae praevenis
> Aevoque cedis, non stilo: etc.[1]

From this we may conclude that the satires of Tetradius were written in the Lucilian style; but whether this refers to their method of treatment of their subjects, or merely to an external imitation of Lucilius' phraseology and mixture of Latin with Greek in his poetry, is not certain.[2]

[1] Cf. above, p. 37.

[2] Ribbeck, *Geschichte*, 3, 344–345.

SULPICIA

Of uncertain date and authorship is the poem of 70 hexameters discovered at Bobbio in 1493 and generally known as "*Sulpiciae satira.*" This takes the form of a dialogue between the poetess[1] and the Muse. It is not really a satire at all[2] but merely a complaint at the evil times under Domitian, especially his expulsion of the philosophers (vv. 37–8). The Muse replies with the comforting prophecy of the speedy fall of the tyrant.

There is no manuscript authority for the use of the word "*satira*" in the title of this poem, and the most recent editors agree from considerations of internal evidence that it cannot have been written by the Roman poetess Sulpicia quoted by Martial.[3] Probably it was the work of some literary novice, perhaps as a school exercise;[4] and is dated by Baehrens a little after the time of Ausonius.[5]

[1] That the (ostensible) writer is a woman is clear from v. 8 "*prima*," etc.

[2] Cf. Bernhardy, *Grundriss der Römischen Literatur*, p. 564.

[3] X, 35; 38.

[4] Eskuche, Rheinisches Museum, 45 (1890), 388. Ribbeck, *Geschichte*, 3, 286. Schanz, *Geschichte*, II, 2, 164.

[5] The text is printed in Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, 5, 93 ff.

PRUDENTIUS

For information regarding the life of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, though he was the greatest and most versatile of Christian Latin poets, we are confined to what we can learn from his own works. He was born, evidently, in the year 348, in Spain—the exact location is disputed—and was active in public life. He studied rhetoric, became an advocate, twice served as governor of a province, and later held some court position of honor by the appointment of the Emperor Theodosius. In this later life he devoted himself to the writing of poems, and published his collection of works in the year 404/5, in the 57th year of his age. The date of his death is unknown.

Prudentius' poetry covers a wide range of form and subject, though in general a spirit of aggressive Christianity runs through all his writing. It may be an exaggerated praise to call him, with Bentley, "the Horace and Vergil of the Christians," but there can be no doubt that one who excelled in lyric, in satire, in didactic and allegorical poetry, deserves to be classed as more than an ordinary versifier.[1]

His lyrical poems—a collection of hymns, and verses in praise of Christian martyrs—need not occupy our attention, but considerable material of interest will be found in his hexameter writings. He composed three didactic-dogmatic or allegorical poems, the *Apotheosis*, the *Hamartigenia*, and the *Psychomachia*. In the latter, which contains many reminiscences of Vergil, the various virtues and vices of human nature are personified and do battle with each other for the dominion of the soul. It is one of the earliest examples which have come down to us of allegory pure and simple, although of

[1] Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 2, 135.

course personification of abstract qualities is a literary device which was even then centuries old. Occasionally the allegory contains a trace of veiled satire, as, for example, the following description put in the mouth of Discordia, who was caught in an attempt to assassinate Concordia:

Illa
Exanguis turbante metu: "Discordia dicor,
Cognomento Heresis: Deus est mihi discolor" inquit
"Nunc minor aut maior, modo duplex et modo simplex,
Cum placet, aërius, et de phantasmate visus,
Aut innata anima est, quotiens volo ludere numen:
Praeceptor Belia mihi, domo et plaga mundus."

These various descriptions of the Deity correspond to the teachings of various heretical sects of that period, as is more clearly brought out in the *Apotheosis*.

The *Apotheosis* is a didactic poem of 1084 verses in which Prudentius reviews and refutes several of the most prominent heresies, such as those of the Patripassians, who held that it was actually God the Father who suffered on the Cross, of the Sabellians, who differed from the orthodox Trinitarians, of the Jews, the Ebionites or "Homuncionitae," itself a satirical appellation, who denied the divinity of Christ, and finally the Manichaeans, who held that Christ was a mere image, "*aërius*," "*phantasma*," etc. Passages where a satirical treatment is employed are not wanting here, as, for example, the following reference to the ancient philosophers, addressed to Sabellius:

Consule barbati deliramenta Platonis
Consule et hircosus Cynicus quos sompniat, et quos
Texit Aristoteles torta vertigine nervos.

Or this, to the Jews:

Pascha tuum dic, dic, cuius de sanguine festum
Tam sollempne tibi est? quis tandem caeditur agnus
Anniculus, sacer ille tibi redeuntibus annis?
Sed sacer in pecude, stultum est sic credere sacrum:
Sanguine balantis summos contingere postes,
Lascivire choris, similaginis azymon esse,
Cum fermentati turgescant crimine mores.

Or this, to Manichaeus:

Obmutesce, furor; linguam, canis improbe, morde
Ipse tuam, lacero consumens verba palato.

Another body of heretics is made the object of attack in the *Hamartigenia*, or *Origin of Evil*. These are the Marcionites, a sect previously strongly assailed by Tertullian and others. They believed in a system of dualism, according to which the God revealed in the Old Testament is the creator of evil, and the God of the New Testament is the creator of good. This poem is one of Prudentius' best works. The argument is strong, and the description of the degeneration following the introduction of sin into the world reminds one of Lucretius.[2] His descriptions of hell and paradise are among the best in early Christian literature.

The *Hamartigenia* contains some of the best instances of Prudentius' use of satire. The first five lines show one of them:

Quo te praecipitat rabies tua, perfide Cain,
Divisor blaspheme Dei? Tibi conditor unus
Non liquet et bifidae caligant nubila lucis,
Insincera acies duo per divortia semper
Spargitur, in geminis visum frustrata figuris.

Similarly vv. 85–88:

Nemo duos soles, nisi sub glaucomate, vidit;
Aut, si fusca polum suffudit palla serenum,
Oppositus quotiens radiorum spicula nimbus
Igne repercusso mentitos spargit in orbes.

One cannot help remembering that Horace and Juvenal were not ignorant of other alternatives when the act of "seeing double" may occur.[3]

Keenly satirical is the passage where, in speaking of the idea of an evil Deity, Prudentius says, "we always knew there was such a person, but we didn't call him God; we called him the devil:"

[2] Ebert, *Geschichte*, p. 292.
[3] Horace, *Serm.*, II, 1, 25. Juvenal, 6, 305.

Haec tua, Marcion, gravis et dialectica vox est,
Immo haec attoniti phrenesis manifesta cerebri.
Novimus esse patrem scelerum, sed novimus ipsum
Haudquaquam tamen esse Deum, quin immo gehennae
Mancipium, stygio qui sit dampnandus averno.
Marcionita Deus, tristis, ferus, insidiator,
Vertice sublimis, cinctum cui nubibus atris
Anguiferum caput et fumo stipatur et igni,
Liventes oculos suffundit felle perusto
Invidia inpatiens iustorum gaudia ferre. etc."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Par furor illorum, quos tradit fama dicatis
Consecrasse deas Febrem Scabiemque sacellis.[4]

Not God, but a wicked and rebellious angel, says Prudentius, is the author of the evil in the world; and in depicting this evil the poet writes with a vigor and a skill scarcely inferior to that of the great satirists of earlier times.[5]

Exemplum dat vita hominum, quo cetera peccent
Vita hominum, cui, quicquid agit, vesania et error
Suppeditant, ut bella fremant, ut fluxa voluptas
Diffluat, inpuro fervescat ut igne libido,
Sorbeat ut cumulos nummorum faucibus amplis
Gurges avaritiae, finis quam nullus habendi
Temperat, aggestis addentem vota talentis.
Auri namque fames parto fit maior ab auro.
Inde seges scelerum, radix et sola malorum.[6]

Prudentius next passes to that love of luxury and adornment which characterizes the female sex. Women, he says, are ashamed of their appearance as God made them, and presumptuously seek to improve it, by painting their skin, and wearing jeweled and golden ear-rings and hair-ornaments. They are the weaker sex, of unstable will, and easily yield to faults:

[4] Cf. Baumgartner, *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker*, p. 164.

[5] Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 2, 132.

[6] V. 257 is in no way inferior to Juvenal's (14, 139)

Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit.

Cf. also Juvenal, 1, 85; 14, 125; Horace, *Sermones* II, 3, 82; *Epistles* I, 2, 56.

Nec enim contenta decore
Ingenito externam mentitur femina formam.
Ac velut artificis Domini manus inperfectum
Os dederit, quod adhuc res exigat aut hyacinthis
Pingere sutilibus redimitae frontis in arce,
Colla vel ignitis sincera incingere sertis,
Auribus aut gravidis virides suspendere bacas,
Nectitur et nitidis concharum calculus albens
Crinibus aureolisque riget coma texta catenis.
Taedet sacrilegas matrum percurrere curas,
Muneribus dotata Dei quae plasmata fuco
Inficiunt, ut pigmentis cutis inlita perdat
Quod fuerat, falso non agnoscenda colore.
Haec sexus male fortis agit, cui pectore in arto
Mens fragilis facili vitiorum fluctuat aestu.

Yet this is not confined to the female sex. Men are no better. They are "dissolved in luxury," mindful only of perfumes and clothing of the softest texture and most delicate dye:

Quid? quod et ipse caput muliebris corporis et rex,
Qui regit invalidam propria de carne resectam
Particulam, qui vas tenerum ditione gubernat,
Solvitur in luxum: cernas mollescere cultu
Heroas vetulos, opifex quibus aspera membra
Finxerat et rigidos duraverat ossibus artus.
Sed pudet esse viros, quaerunt vanissima quaeque,
Quis niteant, genuina leves ut robora solvant:
Vellere non ovium, sed Eoo ex orbe petitis
Ramorum spoliis fluitantes sumere amictus
Gaudent et durum scutulis perfundere corpus.
Additur ars, ut fila herbis saturata recoctis
Inludant varias distincto stamine formas,
Ut quaeque est lanugo fere mollissima tactu,
Pectitur: hunc videas lascivas praepete cursu
Venantem tunicas, avium quoque versicolorum
Indumenta novis texentem plumea telis:
Illum pigmentis redolentibus et peregrino
Pulvere femineas spargentem turpiter auras.

All five senses, says the poet, are pampered out of all proportion, and gratified with such artificial and base pleasures as they were never created to enjoy. Indecent theatrical shows, perfumery, light and trivial music, gluttony, and soft

clothing, together with excessive care of the body, are made the subject of his indignant satire.

Omnia luxus habet nostrae vegetamina vitae,
Sensibus in quinque statuens quae condidit auctor:
Auribus atque oculis, tum naribus atque palato
Quaeritur infectus vitiosis artibus usus.
Ipse etiam toto pollet qui corpore tactus,
Palpamen tenerum blandis ex fotibus ambit.
Proh dolor ingenuas naturae occumbere leges,
Captivasque trahi regnante libidine dotes!
Perversum ius omne viget, dum, quicquid habendum
Omnipotens dederat, studia in contraria vertunt.
Idcircone, rogo, speculatrix pupula molli
Subdita palpebrae est, ut turpia semivirorum
Membra theatrali spectet vertigine ferri,
Incestans miseros foedo oblectamine visus?
Aut ideo spirant mediaque ex arce cerebri
Demittunt geminas sociata foramina nares,
Ut bibat inlecebras male conciliata voluptas,
Quas pigmentato meretrix iacit inproba crine?
Num propter lyricae modulamina vana puellae,
Nervorumque sonos et conviviale calentis
Carmen nequitiae patulas Deus addidit aures?
Perque cavernosos iussit penetrare meatus
Vocis iter? numquid madido sapor inditus ori
Vivit ob hanc causam, medicata ut fercula pigram
Ingluviem vegetamque gulam ganeonis inescent?
Per varios gustus instructa ut prandia ducat
In noctem lassetque gravem sua crapula ventrem?
Quid durum, quid molle foret, quid lene, quid horrens,
Quid calidum gelidumve, Deus cognoscere nosmet
Attactu voluit palpandi interprete sensu.
At nos delicias plumarum et linea texta
Sternimus atque cutem fulcro attenuante polimus.
Felix qui indultis potuit mediocriter uti
Muneribus parcumque modum servare fruendi,
Quem locuples mundi species et amoena venustas
Et nitidis fallens circumflua copia rebus
Non capit ut puerum, nec inepto addicit amori:
Qui sub adumbrata dulcedine triste venenum
Deprendit latitare boni mendacis operto.

Such a long digression as this, almost one hundred lines, dealing with the faults and vices of contemporary men and

women, cannot be regarded as unimportant. Coming from his native province to the capital city, Prudentius' point of view was that of a fresh observer, and his position at court gave him access to the circles where luxury was at its height. If his words remind us irresistibly of those of Juvenal, if the vices which he attacks are the same as those which aroused the elder satirists,[7] it can only mean that Roman society had not changed much in three centuries, and that even the spread and victory of Christianity had not availed to check the prevalence of extreme luxury and extravagance among the wealthy classes. Similar in spirit are the strictures of Tertullian on female dress and adornment, and, as we shall see, they are closely paralleled in St. Jerome and other writers.

The remainder of the *Hamartigenia* is devoted to more directly theological and dogmatic argument and description.

In the year 384 the distinguished pagan orator and prefect of the city Symmachus had addressed an eloquent plea to the rulers of the Empire for the re-establishment of the altar of Victory in the Senate-house, from which it had been removed by an edict of Gratian two years previously. This made a strong impression, but the opposition of Bishop Ambrose of Milan was sufficient to render it fruitless. Still, the *Relatio* of Symmachus remained as a sort of standard plea for his party, and when, in the early years of the fifth century, the question of the altar was re-opened, Prudentius wrote his two books *Contra Symmachum* in reply. It is, perhaps, open to question whether this poem is to be taken as an actual combating of an imminent pagan reaction[8] or as merely an academic *tour de force:*[9] at all events, it must be classed among the best of apologetic writings. The

[7] See Horace, *Sermones*, I, 2, 27; II, 2, passim; *Carmina*, III, 16; Juvenal 1, 139 ff.; 3, 180; 6, 63, 300; 11, 162. Cf. also Schuster, *Studien zu Prudentius*, p. 90 ff., for parallelisms in thought and phraseology between Prudentius and Juvenal.

[8] Ebert, *Geschichte*, p. 276. Manitius, *Geschichte*, p. 77. Baumgartner, *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker*, p. 169.

[9] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 226.

first book is a rather general attack on paganism, while in the second, in which the author quite closely follows the previous work of Ambrosius,[10] the arguments of Symmachus are taken up and answered seriatim.[11] In the first book, and to a less extent in the second, one finds satirical writing that again recalls the best work of Juvenal.[12]

Book 1 begins with an expression of surprise that there should ever again be any renewal of anti-Christian activity, followed by praise of Theodosius for his services to the true religion. Then various gods are satirized in short passages which in thought are not unlike the acrostic poems of Commodianus.

Saturn bursts on the scene with the comically ironical words "I am a god; I come a fugitive; hide me, hide the old man hurled from his throne by a ruthless son. Here I will conceal myself, and give the name 'Latium' to folk and land."

Sum deus, advenio fugiens, praebete latebras,
Occultate senem nati feritate tyranni
Deiectum solio. Placet hic fugitivus et exul
Ut lateam: genti atque loco Latium dabo nomen.
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Inde deos, quorum patria spectata sepulcra
Scimus, in aere hebetes informavere minores,
Advena quos profugus gignens et equina libido
Intulit Italiae; Tuscis namque ille puellis
Primus adhinnivit simulato numine moechus.

Next Jupiter the adulterous:

Iuppiter astus
Multiplices variosque dolos texebat, ut illum,
Vertere cum vellet pellem faciemque, putarent
Esse bovem, praedari aquilam, concumbere cycnum
Et nummos fieri et gremium penetrare puellae.
Nam quid rusticitas non crederet indomitorum
Stulta virum, pecudes inter ritusque ferinos
Dedere sueta animum diae rationis egenum?
In quamcumque fidem nebulonis callida traxit
Nequitia, infelix facilem gens praebuit aurem.

[10] Ebert, *Geschichte*, 277–8.

[11] nunc dictis dicta refellam, 2, 4.

[12] Baumgartner, *Die lat. und griech. Literatur*, 170, 172, 177.

So Mercury, teacher of theft and magic arts, Priapus the obscene, Hercules the boy-lover, the drunken Bacchus, are depicted in vigorous verses as examples of what is offered in place of Christianity. Even sovereigns were deified, which was bad for the national character. Mars and Venus, reputed ancestors of the Roman nation, were in the very circumstances of that ancestry models of vice. Multitudes of new deities were brought to Rome from other countries. Such superstitions once started advanced rapidly; children grew up in their atmosphere, even imbibed them with their milk. The description of the influence of parents and surroundings on the youthful character may be compared with that in Juvenal's 14th satire, though the reference is entirely different, being here to error, there to vice. With scorn Prudentius recalls the deification of Livia, and of Antinous, the favorite of Hadrian. Was it under the auspices of such divinities that Roman armies fought and conquered? Happy would the Romans have been if they had recognized the true Giver of their prosperity and power!

Felices, si cuncta Deo sua prospera Christo
Principe disposita scissent, qui currere regna
Certis ducta modis Romanorumque triumphos
Crescere et inpletis voluit se infundere seclis.
Sed caligantes animas et luce carentes
In Iovis Augustique adytis templisque duarum
Iunonum Martisque etiam Venerisque sacellis
Mactatas tetro leti inmersere barathro,
Supremum regimen crassis in partibus orbis
Esse rati mersoque poli consistere fundo.

Even natural forces were deified, although all are but servants of the Creator. Even this, however, might be tolerated, but what when we come to the gods of the infernal regions:

Hoc tamen utcunque est tolerabile. Quid, quod et ipsae
Dant tibi, Roma, deos inferni gurgitis umbrae?
Eumenidum domina Stygio caput exerit antro
Rapta ad tartarei thalamum Proserpina regis:
Et si quando suos dignatur adire Quirites,
Placatur vaccae sterilis cervice resecta

Et regnare simul caeloque ereboque putatur:
Nunc bigas frenare boves, nunc saeva sororum
Agmina vipereo superis inmittere flagro,
Nunc etiam volucres caprearum in terga sagittas
Spargere terque suas eadem variare figuras.

Gladiatorial shows draw forth some of Prudentius' severest strictures:

Respice terrifici scelerata sacraria Ditis,
Cui cadit infausta fusus gladiator arena:
Heu male lustratae Phlegethontia victima Romae!
Nam quid vesani sibi vult ars inpia ludi,
Quid mortes iuvenum, quid sanguine pasta voluptas,
Quid pulvis caveae semper funebris et illa
Amphitheatralis spectacula tristia pompae?
Nempe Charon iugulis miserorum se duce dignas
Accipit inferias placatus crimine sacro.
Hae sunt deliciae Iovis infernalis, in istis
Arbiter obscuri placidus requiescit Averni.
Nonne pudet regem populum sceptrisque potentem
Talia pro patriae censere litanda salute,
Relligionis opem subternis poscere ab antris?

Theodosius is introduced speaking, urging the city to discard such gloomy teachings and follow the Cross, which had already, through Constantine, set them free from the oppression of Maxentius. The crimes of this tyrant are recalled in a short but vigorous satirical passage (469 ff.). Prudentius then emphasizes the fact that a vast majority of Rome's best people are now Christians, and closes this book with praise of Symmachus as an orator, saying that his own intention is not to attack him, but to defend his own beliefs.

The second book is longer than the first, and as there are some repetitions of thought in it, and some purely dogmatic argument, it seems unnecessary to present a connected outline of the content.* But it contains some excellent examples of satire. To the argument of Symmachus that Rome's victories were due to the worship of the gods, notably the goddess of Victory, Prudentius replies, "Not from altars and sacrificial meal does victory come, but from toil and valor and

courage and diligence: if these are lacking, all the talents you may spend on shrines and statues will be in vain. Never did a steel-clad legion see a winged maiden directing their javelins. The author of victory is Almighty God and one's own right hand,—not a female with combed locks, naked feet, and flowing garments."

Non aris, non farre molae Victoria felix
Exorata venit: labor inpiger, aspera virtus,
Vis animi, excellens ardor, violentia, cura,
Hanc tribuunt, durum tractandis robur in armis;
Quae si defuerint bellantibus, aurea quamvis
Marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pennas
Explicet et multis surgat formata talentis,
Non aderit versisque offensa videbitur hastis
Quid miles, propriis diffisus viribus, aptas
Inrita femineae tibimet solatia formae?
Nunquam pennigeram legio ferrata puellam
Vidit, anhelantum regeret quae tela virorum.
Vincendi quaeris dominam? sua dextera cuique est,
Et Deus omnipotens: non pexo crine virago,
Nec nudo suspensa pede strophioque recincta,
Nec tumidae fluitante sinu vestita papillas.
* * * * * * * * * *
Desine, si pudor est, gentilis ineptia, tandem
Res incorporeas simulatis fingere membris:
Desine, terga hominis plumis obducere, frustra
Fertur avis mulier magnusque eadem dea vultur.

The same thought is emphasized again later in the poem, where Prudentius indignantly demands that Roman valor be given its just dues for victories won: "I will not endure such insults to the Roman name, and the honors we poured out so much blood to gain. To ascribe a victory to Venus, steals the credit from the real victors. Why do we put up statues to Camillus and other heroes if it was really Flora, Matuta, Ceres, and Larentina who defeated the foe?"

Non fero, Romanum nomen sudataque bella
Et titulos tanto quaesitos sanguine carpi.
Detrahit invictis legionibus et sua Romae
Praemia diminuit, qui, quidquid fortiter actum est,

Ascribit Veneri, palmam victoribus aufert.
Frustra igitur currus summo miramur in arcu
Quadriiugos stantesque duces in curribus altis
Fabricios, Curios, hinc Drusos, inde Camillos,
Sub pedibusque ducum captivos poplite flexo
Ad iuga depressos manibusque in terga retortis,
Et suspensa gravi telorum fragmina trunco:
Si Brennum, Antiochum, Persen, Pyrrhum, Mithridatem,
Flora, Matuta, Ceres, et Larentina subegit.

The satirical absurdity is heightened by the use of these goddesses in this connection, instead of, for example, Jupiter, Minerva, Mars, and Apollo.

Prudentius easily shows the ridiculousness of Symmachus' plea for the retention of the *ancient* rites. If age is to be the criterion of the value of a custom or religion, we should quickly lapse into barbarism. We should cease to cultivate the soil, we should have to clothe ourselves in skins and live in caves and murder our aged parents, for such things formerly were done.

Si quidquid rudibus mundi nascentis in annis
Mos habuit, sancte colere ac servare necesse est:
Omne revolvamus sua per vestigia seclum
Usque ad principium, placeat dampnare gradatim,
Quidquid posterius successor repperit usus.
Orbe novo nulli subigebant arva coloni:
Quid sibi aratra volunt, quid cura superflua rastri?
Ilignis melius saturatur glandibus alvus.
Primi homines cuneis scindebant fissile lignum:
Decoquat in massam fervens strictura securem
Rursus et ad proprium restillet vena metallum.
Induvias caesae pecudes et frigida parvas
Praebebat spelunca domos: redeamus ad antra,
Pellibus insutis hirtos sumamus amictus.
Inmanes quondam populi feritate subacta
Edomiti, iam triste fremant iterumque ferinos
In mores redeant atque ad sua prisca recurrant.
Praecipitat Scythica iuvenis pietate vietum
Votivo de ponte patrem; sic mos fuit olim.[13]

Symmachus says (369 ff.), "Let the city be left to the care of its Genius, and to fulfil its fated destiny." Prudentius re-

[13] Cf. Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 34 ff.

plies, "What is this Genius, where did it come from, and when, what does it look like, what does it do? What sensible man could fail to laugh at such a belief?"

At tuus hic urbis Genius, dicas volo, quando
Coepit adhuc parvae primum se infundere Romae,
Fluxit ab uberibus nemorosa in valle lupinis,
Infantesque aluit, dum nascitur ipse, gemellos?
An cum vulturibus volitans ignota per auras
Umbra repentinam traxit de nube figuram?
Culminibus summis sedet, an penetralia servans
Instituit mores et iura forensia condit?
An castrorum etiam fossis intervenit, acres
Cogit ad arma viros, lituis ciet, urget in hostem?
Quae quis non videat sapientum digna cachinno?

Finally, after denying that the confiscation of the revenues of Vesta will bring untold woes on the state, Prudentius satirizes the Vestal virgins, as being chaste only through force of circumstance and vows made in ignorance, and as taking a cruel and unnatural delight in the shameful gladiatorial contests, for the abolition of which he makes a strong plea.

Interea dum torta vagos ligat infula crines
Fatalesque adolet prunas innupta sacerdos,
Fertur per medias ut publica pompa plateas
Pilento residens molli, seque ore retecto
Inputat attonitae virgo spectabilis urbi.
Inde ad consessum caveae pudor almus et expers
Sanguinis it pietas, hominum visura cruentos
Congressus mortesque et vulnera vendita pastu
Spectatura sacris oculis: sedet illa verendis
Vittarum insignis phaleris fruiturque lanistis.
O tenerum mitemque animum! consurgit ad ictus
Et quotiens victor ferrum iugulo inserit, illa
Delicias ait esse suas pectusque iacentis
Virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi,
Ne lateat pars ulla animae vitalibus imis,
Altius inpresso dum palpitat ense secutor.

The foregoing discussion, though necessarily dealing with Prudentius from a limited point of view, should yet make it evident that here is a Latin poet who deserves to be better known than he is. His hymns show an advance on his prede-

cessors,[14] he was a pioneer in allegorical poetry, in his didactic works he was a *poet* as well as a theologian, and he must also be recognized as a satirical poet of a high order. In grave irony, in amusing ridicule, and in sharp and bitter sarcasm, he shows the skill of a master. He may be characterized not unjustly as the principal satirist of Christian Latin poetry, and rivalled only by Claudian of the other poets subsequent to Juvenal.

[14] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 230.

CARMEN CONTRA PAGANOS

We have here a spirited satirical poem of one hundred and twenty-two hexameter verses, preserved in a manuscript of Prudentius (Paris 8084). Its author is unknown, and the date of composition is only to be deduced from internal evidence, which points quite clearly to the year 394 A. D., in the reign of Eugenius.[1]

Although prosody and diction are faulty,[2] the poem possesses much of interest. Its satire is directed against the minority who even at that period remained true to the pagan religion. Special attention is paid to an unnamed pagan of high rank and influence who had recently died—generally believed to be Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, a former consul and prefect of the city.[3]

The central thought of the poem seems to be a feeling of exultation at the decay of paganism and the death of its chief adherent, coupled with a satirical query as to what avail the ancient religion had been either for itself or for him. The heathen gods and their crimes and weaknesses are satirized in much the same manner as by Tertullian, Commodianus, Arnobius, and others.[4] The style is exultant and scornful, rhetorical questions are frequent, and "the relative clause is hounded to death."[5] Repetitions of phrases are common, e. g. 23, 122; 77, 107; 83, 120.

The poem begins[6] with an ironical address to the pagans,

[1] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 200.

[2] Mommsen, *Carmen codicis Parisini* 8084, Hermes, 4 (1869), 350 ff.

[3] Morel, *Recherches*, Revue Archeologique, 1868, 2, 48–50. Mommsen, Hermes, 4, 360. But Robinson Ellis identifies him rather with Praetextatus (Journal of Philology, 1, 2, 80).

[4] Manitius, *Geschichte*, 147 n.

[5] Schanz.

[6] Following the text of Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, 3, 287 ff.

in which some of their gods are characterized by their well-known faults: "Say, ye who worship the Sibyl's groves and cave, the woods of Ida, the Capitol, the Palladium, the shrine of Vesta, the incestuous gods—*Veneris monumenta nefandae*—ye whom only your purple robes make holy, who never learned the truth from either Apollo's shrine or quack Etruscan soothsayer,—was your Jupiter so madly in love with Leda as to become a swan? Did he descend to Danaë in a shower of gold? Did he bellow as a bull through the straits of Parthenope? . . . If Jove himself is subject to fate, what avails it to utter useless prayers? Adonis is mourned, Venus weeps, Mars rejoices, Jupiter knows not how to end their strife, and Bellona urges on the wrangling deities with her scourge."

Dicite, qui colitis lucos antrumque Sibyllae
Idaeumque nemus, Capitolia celsa Tonantis,
Palladium Priamique Lares Vestaeque sacellum
Incestosque deos, nuptam cum fratre sororem,
Inmitem puerum, Veneris monumenta nefandae,
Purpurea quos sola facit praetexta sacratos,
Quis numquam verum Phoebi cortina locuta est,
Etruscus ludit semper quos vanus aruspex:
Iuppiter hic vester, Ledae superatus amore,
Fingeret ut cycinum, voluit canescere pluma?
Perditus ad Danaën fluere subito aureus imber,
Per freta Parthenopes taurus mugireque adulter?
Haec si monstra placent nulla sacrata pudica
. . . . . .
Pellitur arma Iovis fugiens regnator Olympi?
Et quisquam supplex veneratur templa tyranni,
Cum patrem videat nato cogente fugatum?
Postremum, regitur fato si Iuppiter ipse,
Quid prodest miseris perituras fundere voces?
Plangitur in templis iuvenis formonsus Adonis,
Nuda Venus deflet, gaudet Mavortius heros,
Iuppiter in medium nescit finire querellas
Iurgantesque deos stimulat Bellona flagello.

The personal object of the satire is referred to as one who travelled over the whole world in three months and came at last to the end—of his life. No one was a more thorough-

going devotee of paganism than he: an adept in the arts of Numa, worshipper of Serapis, indefatigable opponent of the true religion,—is not this the very man who destroyed a year's wine supply of his country and sought to bring ruin on the city?[7] He underwent the degrading mystic rites. He refused, though censor, to do a censor's part. He sought to corrupt Christians by gifts and offices.

Quis tibi taurobolus vestem mutare suasit,
Inflatus dives, subito mendicus ut esses?
Obsitus et pannis, modica stipe factus epaeta,
Sub terram missus, pollutus sanguine tauri,
Sordidus, infectus, vestes servare cruentas?
Vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos?
. . . . . .
Christicolas multos voluit sic perdere demens,
Quis, vellent sine lege mori, donaret honores
Oblitosque sui caperet quos daemonis arte,
Muneribus cupiens quorundam frangere mentes
Aut alios facere prava mercede profanos
Mittereque inferias miseros sub Tartara secum.

The satirist addresses the unnamed individual. "What good did all your gods and worshippings do you?"

Quid tibi diva Paphi custos, quid pronuba Iuno
Saturnusque senex potuit praestare sacrato?
Quid tibi Neptuni promisit fuscina, demens?
Reddere quas potuit sortes Tritonia virgo?
Dic mihi, Sarapidis templum cur nocte petebas?
Quid tibi Mercurius fallax promisit eunti?
Quid prodest coluisse Lares Ianumque bifrontem?
Quid tibi Terra potens, mater formosa deorum,
Quid tibi sacrato placuit latrator Anubis?
Quid miseranda Ceres mater, Proserpina subter?
Quid tibi Vulcanus claudus, pede debilis uno?
Quis te plangentem non risit, calvus ad aras
Sistriferam Fariam supplex cum forte rogares? etc.

"Lo, in spite of magic charms and votive offerings, death was your portion. Weep not, wife, for a husband who could hope for aid from Jupiter Latiaris!"

[7] The events alluded to here are unknown.

Artibu' sed magicis procerum dum quaeris honores,
Sic, miserande, iaces parvo donatu' sepulcro.
Sola tamen gaudet meretrix te consule Flora
Ludorum turpis genetrix Venerisque magistra,
Conposuit templum nuper cui Symmachus heres.
Omnia quae in templis positus tot monstra colebas,
Ipsa mola et manibus coniunx altaria supplex
Dum cumulat donis votaque in limine templi
Solvere dis deabusque parat superisque minatur
Carminibus magicis cupiens Acheronta movere,
Praecipitem inferias miserum sub Tartara misit.
Desine post hydropem talem deflere maritum,
De Iove qui Latio voluit sperare salutem!

The author of this fanatical and bitter satire may congratulate himself that his name has not descended to us along with his verses. Very probably the reason why it has not is that the poem was published anonymously in the first place. Were the poet's name known, it would merely signify to us an author of third-rate verses, who waits, before venting his spite and scorn, till the object of it is dead, and even then avoids mentioning him by name,—surely not an enviable reputation.

CARMEN AD SENATOREM

ANOTHER anonymous poem, preserved in manuscripts of Cyprian[1] and wrongly ascribed to him, is this of eighty-five hexameter verses, directed against an unnamed senator who had apostatized from Christianity to the worship of the Magna Mater and of Isis. This is probably to be dated at about the same time as the *Carmen contra Paganos*.[2] As poetry, these are superior to the other verses, and their tone is distinctly calmer and less bitter. Yet this is also to be called a satire, written in the epistolary form. The senator's instability is dwelt on, and the cults to which he had returned are depicted in a satirical manner.

The author remarks with delicate irony that as the senator had always been fond of poetry, this rebuke takes the form of a poem:

Cum te diversis iterum vanisque viderem
Inservire sacris priscoque errore teneri,
Obstipui motus. Quia carmina semper amasti
Carmine respondens properavi scribere versus,
Ut te corriperem tenebras praeponere luci.

Then follows a picture of the priests of the Magna Mater, who by their outward ceremonies betray their inner degradation:

Namque sacerdotes tunicis muliebribus idem
Interius vitium cultu exteriore fatentur,
Idque licere putant, quod non licet; unde per urbem
Leniter incedunt molliter voce loquentes,
Laxatosque tenent extenso pollice lumbos,
Et proprium mutant vulgato crimine sexum.

[1] And now printed in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vol. 23, p. 227 ff.

[2] Victor Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, I, 290. Manitius, *Geschichte*, 130. Ebert, *Geschichte*, 313 ff. Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 201.

Cumque suos celebrant ritus, his esse diebus
Se castos memorant; ut, si tantum modo tunc sunt,
Ut perhibent casti, reliquo iam tempore quid sunt?
Sed quia coguntur saltim semel esse pudici,
Mente fremunt, lacerant corpus funduntque cruorem.

Should a servant of Isis become consul, all the world would laugh; is it any less absurd for an ex-consul to become a servant of Isis, to exchange the fasces for a dog's head and a sistrum?

Si quis ab Isiaco consul procedat in orbem,
Risus orbis erit; quis te non rideat autem,
Qui fueris consul, nunc Isidis esse ministrum?
Quodque pudet primo, et non pudet esse secundo,
Ingeniumque tuum turpes damnare per hymnos,
Respondenti tibi vulgo et lacerante senatu;
Teque domo propria pictum cum fascibus ante,
Nunc quoque cum sistro faciem portare caninam.
Haec tua humilitas et humilitatis imago est!
Aedibus illa tuis semper monumenta manebunt.

There is a rumor that you said, "Goddess, I have erred; forgive me, I have returned." What answer, pray, did you receive? Better had you never been a Christian than to have known the truth and discarded it. While worshipping all, you worship nothing; pretend to philosophy, and would doubtless be even a Jew on occasion.

Minus esses forte notandus,
Si tantum hoc scires et in hoc errore maneres;
At cum vericolae penetraveris ostia legis,
Et tibi nosse deum paucis provenerit annis,
Cur linquenda tenes aut cur retinenda relinquis?
Nilque colis, dum cuncta colis, nec corde retractas,
Vera quid a falsis, quid ab umbris lumina distent.
Philosophum fingis, cum te sententia mutet:
Nam tibi si stomachum popularis moverit ira,
Et Iudaeus eris totusque incertus ageris!

The writer continues with a warning that, just as excessive brightness, as well as darkness, may make one unable to see, just as overeating may prove fatal, as well as starvation, so too much knowledge makes one a fool—"*sic nimium sapere stultum facit*" (63). Better the simple faith which is stable

and unmoved. This seems to be a reference to contemporary attempts to substitute philosophy for religion.[3]

The poem concludes with the hope that riper years, "*matura senectus*," may yet bring the senator back, this time permanently, to the Christian faith, and holds out encouragement as to his reception:

Desiste vereri:
Non erit in culpa, quem paenitet ante fuisse.

[3] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 202.

PAULINUS OF NOLA

A CLOSE contemporary of Prudentius, though, as a writer, inferior to him in imagination and poetical ability, was Pontius Meropius Paulinus, known usually as Paulinus of Nola, from his long residence at Nola in Campania. Paulinus was born at Burdigala (Bordeaux) about the year 353, and was a pupil and friend of the well-known rhetor Ausonius. He embraced the Christian religion, was consul, and lived for some time in Spain. Resolving to devote himself to a religious life, he became a priest in 393, and shortly afterwards removed to Nola, a place sanctified by the burial there of St. Felix. In 409 Paulinus was chosen bishop, and held that position till his death in 431.

Although many of his letters and poems are not without interest, the chief interest, from our point of view, is to be found in the hexameter poem of 254 vv., numbered XXXII, sometimes known as the "*poema ultimum*." The author's purpose in writing this poem was, as he declares, to describe in smooth verses different religious beliefs, with a view to showing the superiority of Christianity to all others. In other words, the poem belongs to the great mass of Christian apologetical literature; and one finds, as is to be expected, many points of similarity between it and previous apologetical writings.

The first hundred and fifty lines, roughly speaking, is devoted to an attack on non-Christian sects, and we will find here the same satirical treatment of the subject with which we have become familiar in the works of writers previously discussed.[1] First Paulinus speaks of the Jews, and comments on their insane perversity in turning from the worship of the

[1] Ebert, *Geschichte*, 308. Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 239.

true God to that of idols. Equally mad is the pagan who makes his god of stone or metal:

Par quoque paganus; lapides quos sculpat adorat
Et facit ipse sibi quod debeat ipse timere.
Tum simulacra colit quae sic ex aere figurat
Ut, quando libitum est, mittat confracta monetae
Aut magis in species convertat saepe pudendas.[2]

And their sacrifices, how stupid a practise, and deserving of censure:

Quid petit ignosci veniam qui sanguine poscit?
Illud enim quale est, quam stultum quamve notandum![3]

The philosophers are contemptuously characterized,—the Cynics, who resemble the dogs from whence they get their name, the disciples of Plato, who have no stable doctrine, the "Physici" (see below), who lead a rude and uncultured life, carrying their ideal of simplicity to an extreme:

Philosophos credam quicquam rationis habere,
Qui ratione carent, quibus est sapientia vana?
Sunt Cynici canibus similes, quod nomine produnt;
Sunt et sectantes incerti dogma Platonis,
Quos quaesita diu animae substantia turbat,
Tractantes semper nec definire valentes,
Unde Platonis amant de anima describere librum,
Qui praeter titulum nil certi continet intus.
Sunt etiam Physici naturae nomine dicti
Quos antiqua iuvat rudis atque incondita vita. Etc.[4]

The poet here does not distinguish carefully between his philosophers. The "Physici" should be the Stoics, probably, but his description best fits the Cynics.[5]

[2] Cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, Chapter 23, for similar thought.

[3] Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, I, 3, 24:

Stultus et improbus hic amor est, dignusque notari.

[4] Cf. Prudentius, *Apotheosis*, 200 f.:

Consule barbati deliramenta Platonis
Consule et hircosus Cynicus quos sompniat, etc.

[5] Cf. Bursian, *Das sogenannte poema ultimum des Paulinus Nolanus*, in Sitzungsberichte der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologischen Klasse, 1880, p. 22.

Then come satirical comments on gods and goddesses, on Jove the incestuous—teste Marone—held inferior in honor by his worshippers to the mortal king Janus, on the degraded and degrading Attis cult, on the absurd myth of Saturn and his children, with the vain attempt at rationalization, on the myth of Saturn's exile—how the one great god hid away, and the other great god was unable to find him, on the Isis worship, on Vesta,—why should fire be deified in a *feminine* form, particularly?

Primum

Hic deus est uxorque dei ipsamque sororem
Esse volunt quam Vergilius notat auctor eorum
Dicendo "et soror et coniunx." Plus de Iove fertur
Et natam stuprasse suam fratrique dedisse
Utque alias caperet propriam variasse figuram:
Nunc serpens, nunc taurus erat, nunc cygnus et anser,
Seque immutando qualis fuit indicat ipse;
Plus aliena sibi quam propria forma placebat.
Turpius his aquilam finxit puerique nefandos
Venit in amplexus.[6]

Further:

O mens caeca virum! de sacris semper eorum
Scaena movet risus, nec ab hoc errore recedunt.
Saturnum perhibent Iovis esse patrem huncque vorasse
Natos ante suos et mox e ventre nefandos
Evomuisse dapes, sed postea coniugis arte
Pro Iove suppositum mersisse in viscera saxum
Quod nisi fecisset, consumptus Iuppiter esset.
Huncque Cronon dicunt ficteque Chronon, quia tempus
Quae creat absumit, rursusque absumpta promittit.
Cur tamen oblique nomen pro tempore fingunt?[7]
Hunc etiam quod saepe sibi de prole timebat
Ab Iove deiectum caelo latuisse per agros
Italiae, Latiumque ideo tunc esse vocatum.
Magnus uterque deus! Terris est abditus alter,
Alter non potuit terrarum scire latebras.[8]

Again:

Quid quod et Invictum spelaea sub atra recondunt
Quemque tegunt tenebris audent hunc dicere solem?

[6] Cf. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, 1, 59 ff.

[7] On this Χρόνος = Κρόνος, cf. Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, 3, 29.

[8] Cf. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, 1, 47 ff. Commodianus, *Instructiones*, 1, 4. Manitius, *Geschichte*, 294 n.

Quis colat occulte lucem sidusque supernum
Celet in infernis nisi rerum causa malarum?
Quid quod et Isiaca sistrumque caputque caninum
Non magis abscondunt sed per loca publica ponunt?[9]
Nescio quid certe quaerunt gaudentque repertum
Rursus et amittunt quod rursus quaerere possint.
Quis ferat hoc sapiens, illos quasi claudere solem,
Hos proferre palam propriorum monstra deorum?
Quid Serapis meruit qui sic laceratur ab ipsis
Per varios turpesque locos? Hic denique semper
Fit fera fitque canis, fit putre cadaver aselli,
Nunc homo cum pannis, nunc corpore languidus aegro.
Talia dum faciunt, nihil hunc sentire fatentur.
Quid loquar et Vestam quam se negat ipse sacerdos
Scire quid est, imisque tamen penetralibus intus
Semper inextinctus servari fingitur ignis?
Cur dea, non deus est? Cur ignis femina fertur?

Then follows the story connecting Vesta with Vulcan and the Sun,[10] and the poet concludes this polemical section of his poem with an exclamation on the perversity of the human mind:

Quae mens est hominum ut pro veris falsa loquantur,
Qui linquenda colunt contraque colenda relinquunt![11]

Paulinus here turns to an exposition of his own Christian belief; and the remainder of the poem lacks the satirical character of the foregoing.

One recognizes the marked similarity in style of treatment of the subject between this poem and other anti-pagan writings. Such a satirical style had become the favorite for apologetical writers, and Paulinus was only following what was, as it were, an established literary tradition.

In Carmen VI, we find the common enough satirical thought expressed, that pleasure, luxury, and avarice, are the roots of crime:

Sic primi vixere homines mundoque recenti
Hos auctor dederat ventura in saecula mores
Inseruit donec sese malesuada voluptas,

[9] Cf. *Carmen ad Senatorem*, 32.

[10] This passage is mythographically important. Cf. Bursian, *op. cit.*, 14 ff.

[11] Cf. *Carmen ad Senatorem*, 45.

Ac secum luxus et amorem invexit habendi;
Hinc odia hinc lites hinc fraus hinc livor et irae
Caedes arma cruor conflictus proelia mortes
Hinc offensa dei quam tartara saeva piabunt.[12]

[12] This deserves comparison with Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* 393–7:

Namque illic numerosa cohors sub principe tali
Militat horrendisque animas circumsidet armis:
Ira superstitio maeror discordia luxus,
Sanguinis atra sitis, vini sitis, et sitis auri,
Livor adulterium dolus obtrectatio furtum.

Details:

Paulinus	Prudentius
irae	*ira*
luxus	*luxus*
livor	*livor*
lites	*discordia*
caedes arma cruor	
conflictus proelia mortes	*sanguinis atra sitis*
amorem habendi	*sitis auri*
fraus	*dolus*

CRESCONIUS

Probably of the fourth century A. D., was the writer Cresconius, of whom certain works were extant at Lorsch in the tenth century, but now no longer exist. An old catalogue mentions "*metrum Cresconii in Evangel. lib. I; eiusdem de diis gentium luculentissimum carmen; eiusdem versus de principio mundi vel de die iudicii et resurrectione carnis.*"[1] From this brief notice we may infer that Cresconius had written a poem on the subject of the heathen gods which was, in the opinion of the cataloguer at least, an able production, "*luculentissimum carmen.*" Moreover, the tone so frequently adopted when discussing the heathen religious beliefs by so many other writers, such as Tertullian, Commodianus, Arnobius, Prudentius, and Paulinus of Nola, makes it extremely probable that this poem also was of a polemical, satirical nature. This Cresconius may, or may not, have been identical with the Cresconius who was an adversary of St. Augustine.

[1] Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui, ed. Becker, N. 37, 459 ff., apud Manitius, *Geschichte*, 315, q. v.

AMBROSIUS

A FREQUENT and important element in satirical writing is the moral-didactic element. In other words, the satirist takes it upon himself to preach. Juvenal, to be sure, does not preach: he draws vivid and drastic pictures of the worst sides of Roman life and social conditions of his day, without, as a rule, appealing for or even suggesting reforms. But in Horace, for example, we find the preaching tone prominent. Take for example the passage beginning "*Vellem in amicitia sic erraremus*," in *Sermones*, I, 3.[1] This is an argument directly dealing with the improvement of character. "*Opinor*," he concludes, "*haec res et iungit iunctos et servat amicos.*" To Horace can strikingly well be applied the words of Rutilius Namatianus,

> Restituit veterem censoria lima pudorem,
> Dumque malos carpit, praecipit esse bonos.[2]

The converse of this is also true. If the satirist often adopts a preaching tone, so also does the preacher adopt frequently a satirical tone. It is the office of the preacher, says Dean Milman,[3] to use somewhat of the manner of the satirist. This was true of Greek homilists, like Basilios and Gregory of Nazianzus,[4] and it is also true of the Latin churchman to whom we shall now turn.

St. Ambrose was not educated with the career of a churchman in mind. He was born in Treves, about 340, and was the son of a *praefectus praetorio*. He received his education in Rome, and entered on an official career. As consular of Aemilia and Liguria, with headquarters in Milan, he was

[1] Vv. 41–54.
[2] *De Reditu Suo*, 1, 605–6.
[3] *History of Christianity*, 3, 342.
[4] Förster, *Ambrosius Bischof von Mailand*, p. 209.

suddenly and unexpectedly chosen bishop of that diocese, when, as governor, he had appeared to quell a tumult which had arisen between rival parties in the Church. This bishopric Ambrosius held till his death in 397, and distinguished himself especially for ability of administration, utter fearlessness in dealing with the secular power, and vigorous orthodoxy.

Three of the sermons of Ambrosius which are of especial interest for us are the *De Helia et Ieiunio*, the *De Nabuthae*, and the *De Tobia*. These afford an excellent example of this writer's homiletic style, and reflect his own training and characteristics. His was a true Roman nature, practical and energetic, and he brought to his task the rhetorical training of his youth, joined to immense religious earnestness.[5] These sermons, being sermons, depend on a Biblical text, and the Bible is the source of frequent illustrations and references; but the same types of human nature are held up to scorn, the same thoughts expressed in different metaphors, as in the classical satirists.[6] They are characterized by Schenkl[7] as "*libelli tres, eodem consilio scripti—nam magis ad morum emendationem quam ad librorum divinorum explicationem spectant . . . .*" These three sermons inveigh especially against the vices of drunkenness, avarice, and the taking of usury.

In the *De Tobia* it is the latter practice, that of lending money at interest, that is severely condemned. The tone of this work is stern and accusatory, less relieved than the other two by "peintures de moeurs presque comique."[8] Tobias furnishes merely a convenient starting point, and does not

[5] Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, 403–4. Förster, *Ambrosius Bischof von Mailand*, 218.

[6] Ampere, *Histoire littéraire de la France avant Charlemagne*, 2d edition, 1, 384 ff., 2, 153.

[7] *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 32, 2, Praefatio, XVIIII.

[8] Ampere, *Histoire littéraire*, 2, 153.

reappear till near the end. In Chapter 3 is a clever and vivid picture of a typical money-lender. The most worthy charities, the most pitiable cases of destitution, fail to move him. He swears he himself must negotiate a loan to meet his own expenses. But hint at interest, and he thaws out at once. He remembers his friendship with the applicant's father, and says that he will melt up the family plate before *he* shall want.

"Simul ut aliqui necessitate constrictus aut pro suorum redemptione sollicitus, quos captivos barbarus vendat, rogare coeperit, statim dives vultum avertit, naturam non recognoscit, humilitatem supplicis non miseratur, necessitatem non sublevat, fragilitatem non considerat, stat inflexibilis, resupinus, non precibus inclinatur, non lacrimis movetur, non heiulatibus frangitur, iurans quod non habeat, immo et ipse faeneratorem requirat, ut necessitatibus subveniat suis. . . . at ubi usurarum mentio facta fuerit aut pignoris, tunc deiecto supercilio faenerator adrisit et quem ante sibi cognitum denegabat eundem tamquam paternam amicitiam recordatus osculo suscipit, hereditariae pignus caritatis appellat, flere prohibet. Quaeremus, inquit, domi si quid nobis pecuniae est, frangam propter te argentum paternum, quod fabrifacti est. Plurimum damni erit. Quae usurae compensabunt pretia emblematorum? Sed pro amico dispendium non reformidabo."

Again, these usurers attach themselves to young and inexperienced men who have inherited fortunes. They profess to have known their fathers or grandfathers. They show a kindly interest in their affairs. They urge them by degrees to extravagant expenditures, and if the youths' fortunes do not suffice, they offer their own resources, making light of the interest. It is an investment, like the expenses of the legacy-hunter in Horace, *Sermones* II, 5. Yet once the unfortunate man is involved beyond his power to extricate himself, how suddenly they change! They demand their principal, or an iron-clad note.[9]

[9] Chapter 6, 23–24.

How miserable the state of the debtor! He is like a fish who sees the hook, yet swallows the bait. His friends all desert him. The thought of debt is ever present to his mind. He is continually counting up what he owes, as is also the creditor, but with very different emotions. He fears to meet his creditor. Should he see him coming, he covers his face and hides behind a pillar. Should someone knock at his door during the night, in terror he crawls under the bed, or jumps out of the window. Even at the barking of a dog, his heart palpitates, and a cold sweat breaks out.

"Ille gressus debitoris singulos numerat, aucupatur deflexus: iste continuo post columnas caput obumbrat; nullam enim habet debitor auctoritatem. Ambobus in digitis usurarum repetitur saepius calculatio. Par cura, sed dispar affectus: alter laetatur incremento faenoris, alter cumulo debitionis adfligitur, ille quaestus numerat, hic aerumnas. . . . Si quis pulsaverit nocte, faeneratorem putas: sub lectum ilico. Si quem subito intrare senseris, tu foras exsilis. Canis latrat, et cor tuum palpitat, sudor effunditur, anhelitus quatit."[10]

In the *De Helia et Ieiunio* Ambrosius takes up the question of religious fasting. He adduces examples, such as the fasting of Elijah, of Moses, of Christ, and of others. Frequently his argument takes the form of satirical pictures of those who indulge to excess in the pleasures of the table. For example, in Chapter 12, section 42, he describes a group of loafers about a tavern, dwelling on the ridiculous effects which strong drink has on them,—how men without money enough to pay for a night's lodging pass judgment on potentates and principalities (like the typical country-grocery loafers in the United States). For while drunk they seem to themselves rich, they give largess to the populace, they build cities, without a cent in their pockets. How brave and wise and eloquent and handsome men think themselves, when they are so drunk they cannot stand upright!

[10] Chapter 7, 25, 26. Cf. 5, 19.

"Sedent in foribus tabernarum homines tunicam non habentes nec sumptum sequentis diei. De imperatoribus et potestatibus iudicant, immo regnare sibi videntur et exercitibus imperare. Fiunt ebrietate divites qui sunt veritate inopes. Aurum donant, dispensant pecunias populis, civitates aedificant qui non habent cauponi unde potus nisi suis corporibus pretium solvant. Fervet enim vinum in his, nesciunt quid loquantur, divites sunt, dum inebriantur; mox ubi vinum digesserint, cernunt se esse mendicos. Uno die bibunt multorum dierum labores. De ebrietate ad arma consurgitur, calicibus tela succedunt. Pro vino sanguis effunditur et ipsum sanguinem vina fuderunt. Quam fortes sibi homines videntur in vino, quam sapientes, quam diserti, quantum etiam pulchri ac decori, cum stare non possint!" [11]

Nor are such excesses confined to the lower classes of society. Ambrosius describes, with keen satirical touch, a fashionable banquet, with its silver vessels, its servants crowned with garlands, its mad rivalry in drinking contests, and the miserable condition to which its participants reduce themselves. Their slaves receive them, laughing, as they come staggering out, and place them on their horses. But these mighty warriors, who have been recounting their valorous deeds to their table companions, are now too weak to keep their seats without assistance. "In the morning they are resplendent in arms, and of a threatening countenance: in the evening you may see the same men mocked with impunity by small boys, wounded without a sword, slain without a battle, terrified without an enemy, trembling without being old, feeble in the very bloom of youth."

"Cernas iuvenes terribilis visu hostibus de convivio portari foras et inde ad convivium reportari, repleri ut exhauriant et exhauriri ut bibant. Si quis verecundior fuerit, ut erubescat surgere, cum iam immoderatos potus tenere non possit,

[11] Cf. Horace, *Epistles*, I, 5, 19:

Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?

anhelare vehementius, gemere, sudare, signis prodere quod pudeat confiteri. Ibi unusquisque pugnas enarrat suas, ibi fortia facta sua praedicant, narrant tropaea vino madidi et somno soluti nesciunt mente quod lingua proferant. Unusquisque stertit et potat, dormit et dimicat, et si quando consurrectum fuerit, viri proeliatores stare non possunt, egressu vacillant. Rident servuli dominorum opprobria, manibus suis portant militem bellatorem, imponunt equo. Itaque hac atque illac tamquam navigia sine gubernatore fluctuant et tamquam vulnere icti in terram defluunt, nisi excipiantur a servulis. Alii referuntur in scutis, fit pompa ludibrii. Quos mane insignis armis spectaveras, vultu minaces, eosdem vesperi cernas etiam a puerulis inpune rideri, sine ferro vulneratos, sine pugna interfectos, sine hoste turbatos, sine senectute tremulos, in ipso iuventatis flore marcentes." [12]

In another place he again satirizes the drunkard by describing the effects of wine: there is an incessant ringing in the ears, like waves on the shore, imaginary dangers appear, a man seems shut in by mountains, dogs seem lions. Some laugh, some weep, and some sleep so that they can by no means be aroused till the effects of the drink pass away:

" Hinc etiam vanae imagines, incerti visus, instabilis gressus. Umbras saepe transiliunt sicut foveas. Nutat his terra, subito erigi et inclinari videtur, quasi vertatur. Timentes in faciem ruunt et solum manibus adprendunt aut concurrentibus montibus sibi videntur includi. Murmur in auribus tamquam maris fluctuantis fragor et resonantia fluctu litora. Canes si viderint, leones arbitrantur et fugiunt. Alii risu solvuntur incondito, alii inconsolabili maerore deplorant, alii inrationabilis cernunt pavores. Vigilantes somniant, dormientes litigant. Vita his somnium est, somnus his multus est. Excitari nullis vocibus possunt: quantolibet stimulandos inpulsu putes, nisi resipierint, vigilare non possunt." [13]

[12] Chapter 13, 50.
[13] Chapter 16, 60.

What are such people, he asks ironically, human beings or wine-skins? "*homines hos an utres verius aestimarim?*"[14]

Women as well receive a sharp rebuke at the hands of Ambrosius, for their failure to obey the Apostolic injunction to stay at home and be obedient to their husbands. Instead of that they parade, intoxicated, in the public squares, and by conspicuous dress and deportment seek to attract the attention of men:

"Sed quid de viris loquamur quando etiam feminae, quas oportet sollicitiorem castitati sobrietatis adhibere custodiam, usque ad ebrietatem bibunt? Deinde surgentes, quas etiam intra secreta domus vel audiri ab alienis non convenit vel videri, prodire in publicum non velato capite, vultu procaci! Apostolus mulieres tacere etiam in ecclesia iubet, domi viros suos praecipit interrogare. Illae in plateis inverecundos etiam viris sub conspectu adulescentulorum intemperantium choros ducunt, iactantes comam, trahentes tunicas, scissae amictus, nudae lacertos, plaudentes manibus, saltantes pedibus, personantes vocibus, inritantes in se iuvenum libidines motu histrionico, petulanti oculo, dedecoroso ludibrio." Etc.[15]

Ambrosius also, in this sermon, characterizes luxury as the hot-bed and source of vices: "Luxuria seminarium et origo vitiorum est. Nec arbitremini me adversus Apostolum dixisse, quia ille ait avaritiam radicem esse vitiorum omnium, quoniam luxuria ipsius est mater avaritiae."[16] He condemns the insatiate greed of those who pervert the gifts of nature, especially those who sail the sea in pursuit of wealth:

"Ad escam tibi mare datum est, non ad periculum: cibo, non ad mercatum, utere. Cur tibi periculum generas de voluptate? Cur separatioris elementi profunda rimaris? Cur inquietas mundi altiora sequetur? Cur postremo saepius

[14] 17, 64. Cf. Juvenal, 6, 474.

[15] Chapter 18, 66. Cf. Hieronymus, Ep. 22, 13; below, p. 83–4.

[16] Chapter 19, 69. Cf. Prudentius, *Hamartigenia*, 391 ff., Paulinus Nolanus, VI, 242 ff.

sulcare atque exarare fluctus inpatiens nauta contendis? Cur temptas frequenter innoxia aequora, inritas procellas? O inexplebilis avaritia mercatorum!"[17]

Perhaps most of all in the *De Nabuthae* is one struck by the satire of Ambrosius. This sermon, which has for its text the greed of King Ahab for the vineyard of Naboth (III Kings, 21), with its unfortunate consequences, deals with wealth and poverty, and, as one might expect, with the extremes of both. In the fashion of the Stoic diatribe, the writer dwells on the unnaturalness, the artificiality, of property distinctions. Nature knows no such distinctions. Naked we come into the world, and we can take nothing with us when we depart.

" Quousque extenditis, divites, insanas cupiditates? Numquid soli habitabitis super terram? Cur eicitis consortem naturae et vindicatis vobis possessionem naturae? In commune omnibus, divitibus atque pauperibus, terra fundata est; cur vobis ius proprium soli, divites, adrogatis? Nescit natura divites, quae omnes pauperes generat. Neque enim cum vestimentis nascimur, cum auro argentoque generamur. Nudos fundit in lucem egentes cibo amictu poculo, nudos recipit terra quos edidit, nescit fines possessionum sepulchro includere." Etc.[18]

The rich man is self-deceived in thinking himself rich. The more he has, the more he wants: "Quanto plus habueris, plus requiris, et quidquid adquisieris, tamen tibi adhuc indiges. Inflammatur lucro avaritia, non restinguitur."[19]

[17] Chapter 19, 71. Cf. Horace, *Carmina*, I, 3, 21 ff.; *Sermones*, I, 1, 4 and 29–30; *Epistles*, I, 1, 45. Gregory of Nyssa, 44 M, p. 1169 c, quoted by Kiessling-Heinze apud Horace, *Epistles*, I, 1, 45. Persius, 5, 132 ff.

[18] Chapter 1, 1.

[19] Chapter 2, 4. Cf. Horace, *Carmina* III, 16, 17 f.:

> Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
> Maiorumque fames.

Persius 6, end. Juvenal 14, 139:

> Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crevit.

Prudentius, *Hamartigenia*, 257:

The story of Ahab and Naboth is partially reviewed, with ironical amplification of details; the king's petulant refusal to touch food is contrasted with the necessities of the poor: "Compara nunc affectum pauperis. Nihil habet et ieiunare voluntarius nisi deo nescit, ieiunare nisi ex necessitate non novit. Eripitis quidem pauperibus universa, aufertis omnia, nihil relinquitis, poenam tamen pauperum vos potius, divites, sustinetis. Illi ieiunant, si non habeant, vos, cum habetis. A vobis igitur prius poenam exigitis quam pauperibus inrogatis. Vos igitur vestro affectu luitis miserae paupertatis aerumnas, et pauperes quidem non habent quo utantur, vos autem nec ipsi utimini nec alios uti sinitis. Eruitis aurum de metalli venis et rursus absconditis."[20]

The heir of the rich man waits impatiently and grumbles at the long life of his relative.[21]

Perhaps the limit of miserliness is depicted in the instance of the rich man, who, whenever an egg was cooked for him, complained at the loss of the chicken which might have been hatched from that egg: "*Comperi etiam veri fide, si quando ovum esset adpositum, queri quod pullus esset occisus*,"—an example which certainly would have delighted Horace.[22]

On the other hand, there are those whose luxury consumes the choicest and rarest viands[23] without a thought of the hardships or even actual suffering or loss of life involved in their acquisition. It is a new turn that Ambrosius gives to this subject. References to excessive display and luxury at table are fairly frequent[24] but it is not the extravagance so

Auri namque fames parto fit maior ab auro.

Also again in this same sermon (Chapter 6, 28); "Quid est enim dives nisi inexplebilis quidam gurges divitiarum, inexplebilis auri fames aut sitis? Quo plus hauserit plus inardescit."

[20] Chapter 4, 16. Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, I, 1, 70 ff., II, 3, 104 ff.

[21] Chapter 4, 17. Cf. Horace, *Carmina*, IV, 7, 19; *Sermones*, II, 3, 145 ff.

[22] Chapter 4, 18.

[23] Cf. Juvenal, 1, 135.

[24] Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, II, 2. Seneca, Epistle 89, near the end. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 4, 372; 10, 155. Tertullian, *De Pallio*, Chapter 5. Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis*. Claudian, *In Eutropium*, 2, 330. Etc.

much as the accompanying indifference or downright cruelty which Ambrosius here attacks:

"Quanti necantur ut vobis quod delectat paretur! Funesta fames vestra, funesta luxuries. Illi de summis culminibus ruit, ut frumentis ampla vestris receptacula praepararet. Ille de sublimi cacumine altae arboris decidit, dum genera explorat uvarum, quas deferat, quibus digna convivio tuo vina fundantur. Ille mari mersus est dum veretur, ne piscis mensae tuae desit aut ostrea. Ille brumali frigore, dum lepores investigare aut laqueis studet aves captare, diriguit. Ille ante oculos tuos, si quid forte displicuit, verberatur ad mortem atque ipsas epulas fuso cruore respergit."[25]

In contrast to this thoughtless luxury, the preacher draws a powerful and touching picture of the man whose poverty compels him to sell one of his children into slavery, to provide means for the support of the rest. The father's dilemma is truly pitiable; he knows not which one to part with. Each son has some peculiar claim on his father's love, yet he must either sell one or watch them all slowly perish for lack of food.[26] But what effect has his pitiful case on the rich? None, avarice stops their ears. Here Ambrosius satirizes woman's love of jewelry and fine raiment, the cost of which would bring happiness to many a poverty-stricken wretch. Women rejoice in burdens and fetters, if they be but precious material. They will even wound their bodies for the sake of displaying jewels. They dress for looks, not for comfort; and nature yields to the love of wealth:

"Illa tibi inponet sumptuum necessitatem, ut gemma bibat, in ostro dormiat, in argentea sponda recumbat, auro oneret manus, cervicem monilibus. Delectantur et conpedibus mulieres, dummodo auro ligentur: non putant onera esse, si pretiosa sint, non existimant vincula esse, si in his thensaurus coruscet. Delectant et vulnera, ut aurum auribus inseratur

[25] Chapter 5, 20.
[26] Chapter 5, 21–24.

et margaritae pendeant. Habent et gemmae pondera sua, habent et vestes sua frigora. Sudatur in gemmis, algetur in sericis: tamen pretia iuvant et quae natura aversatur commendat avaritia."[27]

Again, in Chapter 13, 56, Ambrosius returns to the same thought, attacking with vigorous antitheses the maintenance of luxurious establishments in the face of wide-spread poverty.[28]

"Deinde non ipsas vos pudoris aula admonet, qui aedificando vestras vultis superare divitias nec tamen vincitis.[29] Parietes vestitis, nudatis homines. Clamat ante domum tuum nudus, et negligis: clamat homo nudus, et tu sollicitus es quibus marmoribus pavimenta tua vestias. Pecuniam pauper quaerit et non habet: panem postulat homo, et equus tuus aurum sub dentibus mandit. Sed delectant te ornamenta pretiosa, cum alii frumenta non habeant: quantum, o dives, iudicium tibi sumis! Populus esurit, et tu horrea tua claudis; populus deplorat, et tu gemmam tuam versas. Infelix, cuius in potestate est tantorum animas a morte defendere et non est voluntas! Totius vitam populi poterat anuli tui gemma servare."

Like Horace, Ambrosius lays stress on the fact that the avaricious man gets no comfort from his hoard; he is continually tormented by anxiety for its safety; he is a slave to his avarice; his wealth owns him, not he his wealth.[30] *Excitat eum cupiditas, exagitat cura pervigil aliena rapiendi, torquet invidia, mora vexat, sterilitas proventuum infecunda perturbat, sollicitat abundantia.*[31] And again, *Servitis, divites, ac miseram quidem servitutem, qui servitis errori, servitis cupiditati, servitis avaritiae, quae expleri non potest.*[32]

It is worth noticing that Ambrosius makes frequent use of

[27] Chapter 5, 25–26.
[28] See Förster, *Ambrosius Bischof von Mailand*, 231.
[29] Cf. Hieronymus, Epistle 22, 32.
[30] Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, I, 1, 76 ff.; *Epistles*, I, 10, 39 ff.
[31] Chapter 6, 29.
[32] Chapter 12, 52. Cf. Chapter 14, 62–15, 63.

the device—common enough in diatribe and satirical writing—of a fictitious opponent, to be overwhelmed by his argument, or crushed by his scorn. Sometimes it is one adversary, sometimes more than one, sometimes he uses both singular and plural numbers in the same sentence. E. g. *De Nabuthae*, 13, 54, *Quid enim superbias, dives? quid dicas pauperi: noli me tangere?* 13, 55, *Miror tamen cur eo vos, divites, iactandos putetis.* 8, 40, *Sed fortasse dicas quod vulgo soletis dicere.*

We should not be surprised at the evidences of similarity between these sermons of Ambrosius and classical satirical writing. As he was writing from much the same point of view as the earlier writers, and with much the same purpose—to point out and criticize the faults of humanity—it is entirely natural that he should achieve a not dissimilar result. Differences there are, differences of age, and personality, and differences caused by the introduction of Christianity, but down at the bottom the spirit of satire is scarcely changed at all.

HIERONYMUS

Eusebius Hieronymus, who was a native of Stridon in Dalmatia, and who lived from about 348 to 420 A. D., was one of the most learned, vigorous, and prolific writers produced by the early Christian Church. In fact, it has been said that to him, with almost more right than to Lactantius, should fall the honor of being known as "the Christian Cicero."[1] His translations of and voluminous commentaries on the Scriptures would alone suffice to win him distinction; but also of much interest and importance will be found his letters and polemical writings.

In many of these the satirical element plays an important part. And a man of Hieronymus' austere and ascetic temperament could find enough to satirize in contemporary life. The Church itself was afflicted with widespread corruption and vice and luxury.[2] The old habit of legacy-hunting had become so prevalent that the Christian clergy were especially forbidden to receive bequests.

"I am ashamed to say," says Hieronymus, "that idolaters and performers of mimes and chariot-drivers and harlots all receive bequests: only to the clergy and monks is this legally forbidden; and it is forbidden not by those wishing to persecute them, but by the very leaders of the Church. I do not complain about the law, but I am sorry such a law is necessary."[3]

Ambition, avarice, vanity, effeminacy, pride, superstition, all found in Hieronymus an eager and uncompromising opponent. Shams of all kinds were especially hateful to him, from the use of false hair and cosmetics to the subtlest kinds of

[1] Zöckler, *Hieronymus, Sein Leben und Wirken*, 323.

[2] A. Thierry, *St. Jérome*, 1, 15 ff. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus*, 1, 281. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, 27, 14.

[3] Epistle 52, 6.

clerical and monkish hypocrisy. Heretics hated him because of his vigorous orthodoxy; the clergy hated him because he unceasingly rebuked their immorality and vices.[4] The pictures which he draws in his denunciations, worthy of Juvenal, are graphic and vivid, and might almost be taken as of pagan times.[5]

The famous letter to Eustochium, daughter of Paula, *de custodia virginitatis* (Epistle 22), is a rich mine of this sort of material. We know that the extreme outspokenness of this little document, "the most celebrated and the most aggressive of his polemical works,"[6] produced no small excitement in Rome, and not improbably hastened his own departure from the city.[7] The author himself tells us that this "*sermo offendit plurimos, dum unusquisque in se intelligens quod dicebatur, non quasi monitorem libenter audivit, sed quasi criminatorem sui operis aversatus est.*"[8] In other words, the public received it in a spirit strikingly like that which Horace complains of in the fourth satire of the first book.

In this letter to Eustochium Hieronymus pictures for us some of the rottenness which had invaded all ranks of the Christian world. Men and women alike had fallen away from the spiritual ideals of the past and were yielding themselves to sensuality, and mocked at those who remained pure. A very drastic description of the depths of dishonor and even crime to which so many so-called "*virgines*" had sunk closes with the contemptuous words: "They are the ones who say, 'To the pure all things are pure,' who walk through the streets striving with every detail of dress and manner to attract the attention of young men, whose modesty and virginity is a delusion and a sham:"

[4] Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, I, 8, 6; 9, 4; 21, 5.

[5] Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, I, 113. Thierry, *St. Jérome*, I, Preface VII.

[6] Thierry, *St. Jérome*, I, 186.

[7] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, I, 441–2, 446.

[8] Epistle 130, 19.

Istae sunt quae solent dicere "omnia munda mundis." . . . Hae sunt quae per publicum notabiliter incedunt et furtivis oculorum nutibus adulescentium gregem post se trahunt, quae semper audiunt per prophetam "Facies meretricis facta est tibi, inpudorata es tu."[9] Purpura tantum in veste sit tenuis et laxius ut crines decidant, ligatum caput, soccus vilior et per umeros maforte volitans, strictae manicae bracchiis adhaerentes et solutis genibus fractus incessus: haec est apud illas tota virginitas. Habeant istiusmodi laudatores suos et sub virginali nomine lucrosius pereant: libenter talibus non placemus.[10]

Equally indignant is his characterization of a certain class of married women and widows. "Avoid the society of matrons," he bids Eustochium, "*ad hominis coniugem Dei sponsa quid properas? . . . Neque vero earum te tantum cupio declinare congressus, quae maritorum inflantur honoribus, quas eunuchorum greges saepiunt et in quarum vestibus adtenuata in filum metalla texuntur*"—a picture drawn with a few brief strokes, but distinctly satirical. "Not only these," he resumes, "but shun also those who are widows from necessity, not from choice,—not that they ought to desire the death of their husbands, but that they do not gladly embrace the offered opportunity for a life of holiness and chastity.—One would think from their ruddy cheeks and their plumpness that they had not lost husbands, but were seeking them. Their houses are full of flattery and banqueting. Even the priests who ought to be objects of reverence, kiss the brows of their patronesses and with outstretched hand, so that you might think them to be pronouncing a blessing if you did not know, they receive the payment for their salutation." No wonder Hieronymus was not popular with his clerical brethren! He continues,

" Illae interim, quae sacerdotes suo vident indigere praesidio,

[9] Jeremiah, 3, 3. Cf. Ambrosius, *De Helia et Ieiunio*, 18, 66; above, p. 76.

[10] Epistle *22*, 13.

eriguntur in superbiam et, quia maritorum expertae dominatum viduitatis praeferunt libertatem, castae vocantur et nonnae, et post cenam dubiam apostolos somniant."[11]

It is on the clergy, "men of my own station," that Hieronymus pours out the bitterest quintessence of his satire. Fops and dandies, their very motive in becoming clergymen is often that they may have freer access to female society:

"Omnis his cura de vestibus, si bene oleant, si pes laxa pelle non folleat. Crines calamistri vestigio rotantur, digiti de anulis radiant et, ne plantas umidior via spargat, vix inprimunt summa vestigia. Tales cum videris, sponsos magis aestimato quam clericos. Quidam in hoc omne studium vitamque posuerunt, ut matronarum nomina, domos moresque cognoscant."

Follows the remarkable passage:

"E quibus unum, qui huius artis est princeps, breviter strictimque describam, quo facilius magistro cognito discipulos recognoscas. Cum sole festinus exsurgit; salutandi ei ordo disponitur; viarum compendia requiruntur et paene usque ad cubilia dormientium senex inportunus ingreditur. Si pulvillum viderit, si mantele elegans, si aliquid domesticae supellectilis, laudat, miratur et se his indigere conquerens non tam inpetrat quam extorquet, quia singulae metuunt veredarium urbis offendere. Huic inimica castitas, inimica ieiunia; prandium nidoribus probat et "altilis" "γέρων" vulgo "ποππύζων" nominatur. Os barbarum et procax et in convicia semper armatum. Quocumque te verteris, primus in facie est. Quidquid novum insonuerit, aut auctor aut exaggerator est famae. Equi per horarum momenta mutantur tam nitidi, tam feroces, ut illum Thracii regis putes esse germanum."[12]

[11] Epistle 22, 16.

[12] Epistle 22, 28. "I will describe one of these, who is the chief of this sort, briefly, so that by knowing the master you may more easily recognize the disciples. He arises with the sun, makes a list of morning calls, hurries along cross-cuts, and almost intrudes himself into people's sleeping-

Did Hieronymus' title as a satirist rest on this description alone, it would still be secure,—so vivid and lifelike and merciless are the details, weaving into a connected whole which doubtless could not fail to be recognized and identified by readers familiar with contemporary characters.

Still darker charges could be brought against the Roman churchmen and ascetics, and were not neglected by the unsparing Hieronymus:

"Pudet dicere, pro nefas! triste sed verum est: unde in ecclesias agapetarum pestis introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? immo unde novum concubinarum genus? Plus inferam: unde meretrices univirae? Eadem domo, uno cubiculo, saepe uno tenentur et lectulo, et suspiciosos nos vocant, si aliquid aestimemus. Frater sororem virginem deserit, caelibem spernit virgo germanum, et, cum in eodem proposito esse se simulent, quaerunt alienorum spiritale solacium, ut domi habeant carnale commercium."[13]

Another satirical picture warns Eustochium against pride, display, and avarice, by holding up to scorn those women who provide themselves with more fine clothes than they can even keep free from moths, who possess purple and jeweled manuscripts while the poor are dying around them, who give alms only for their own display and not in the spirit of Christian charity.

"At nunc plerasque videas armaria stipare vestibus, tunicas mutare cotidie et tamen tineas non posse superare. Quae

rooms before they are awake, in his zeal. If he sees a cushion or an attractive cloak or some article of household furniture, he praises it, admires it, touches it, laments that he has to do without such, and not so much receives it as a gift as extorts it, because his hostesses being single individuals do not dare to cross the gossip-carrier of the whole city. Purity and fasting are hateful to him; he can tell a good dinner by the smell; he is commonly called 'altilis' (stuffed), '*γέρων*,' '*ποππύζων*.' His speech is harsh and shameless, always ready to abuse. Wherever you turn, he is the first person you see. Whatever news there is, he either originated it or exaggerated it. He has so many and so fine horses that you might take him for the brother of the king of Thrace."

[13] Epistle 22, 14. Thierry, *St. Jérome*, 1, 15, 289, note 2.

religiosior fuerit, unum exterit vestimentum et plenis arcis pannos trahit. Inficitur membrana colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices vestiuntur et nudus ante fores earum Christus emoritur. Cum manum porrexerint, bucinant; cum ad agapen vocaverint, praeco conducitur. Vidi nuper—nomen taceo, ne saturam putes—nobilissimam mulierum Romanarum in basilica beati Petri semiviris antecedentibus propria manu, quo religiosior putaretur, singulos nummos dispertire pauperibus. Interea,—ut usu nosse perfacile est—anus quaedam annis pannisque obsita praecurrit, ut alterum nummum acciperet; ad quem cum ordine pervenisset, pugnus porrigitur pro denario et tanti criminis reus sanguis effunditur."[14]

If cold-hearted luxury is bad, pretended poverty is even worse, for hypocrisy is added. The shamming of an ascetic look and manner of life rightly aroused the wrath of the great moralist, both when it was done by women who put on a pious look as soon as they saw anyone approaching, and dressed meanly, though feeding themselves well,—and by men who went about barefooted, paying no attention to hair or clothes, deceiving credulous women by their holy appearance, and by stolen meals at night keeping up the pretence of a protracted fast.

"Sunt quippe nonnullae exterminantes facies suas, ut pareant hominibus ieiunare; quae, statim ut aliquem viderint, ingemescunt, demittunt supercilium et operta facie vix unum oculum liberant ad videndum; vestis pulla, cingulum sacceum et sordidis manibus pedibusque venter solus, quia videri non potest, aestuat cibo; . . . Sed ne tantum videar disputare de feminis, viros quoque fuge, quos videris catenatos, quibus feminei contra apostolum crines, hircorum barba, nigrum pallium et nudi in patientiam frigoris pedes. Haec omnia argumenta sunt diaboli. Talem olim Antimum, talem nuper

[14] Epistle 22, 32. Cf. Ambrosius, *De Nabuthae*, Chapter 13, 56; above p. 80.

Sofronium Roma congemuit. Qui postquam nobilium introierint domos et deceperint mulierculas oneratas peccatis, semper discentes et numquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes, tristitiam simulant et quasi longa ieiunia furtivis noctium cibis protrahunt."[15]

One class of monks in particular aroused Hieronymus' disgust and antipathy for similar reasons. These were the monks in Egypt called "Remnuoth," "*genus deterrimum atque neglectum*," who, if not the only ones, were at least the first to enter Italy. They lived by twos and threes scattered about in larger communities, and made articles which they sold at exorbitant prices. They were prone to quarrelling, endured no discipline, and their piety and self-abnegation was only pretence.

"Habitant autem quam plurimum in urbibus et castellis, et quasi ars sit sancta, non vita, quidquid vendiderint, maioris est pretii. Inter hos saepe sunt iurgia, quia suo viventes cibo non patiuntur se alicui esse subiectos. Re vera solent certare ieiuniis et rem secreti victoriae faciunt. Apud hos affectata sunt omnia: laxae manicae, caligae follicantes, vestis grossior, crebra suspiria, visitatio virginum, detrectatio clericorum, et si quando festior dies venerit, saturantur ad vomitum."[16]

A satirical passage where the Horatian parallel is given by Hieronymus himself is found in Epistle 53, 6–7. He remarks how the various arts and sciences, even the humbler occupations, demand a trained and skilful workman to produce successful results; and utters a tirade against the talkative old women, the doting old men, the ignoramuses of all kinds, who profess to teach the Scriptures without knowing anything about them:

"Quod medicorum est
Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri.[17]

[15] Epistle 22, 27–28.
[16] Epistle 22, 34.
[17] Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 115–6.

Sola Scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes passim vindicant:

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.[18]

"Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc soloecista verbosus, hanc universi praesumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant. Alii adducto supercilio grandia verba trutinantes inter mulierculas de sacris litteris philosophantur, alii discunt—pro pudor—a feminis, quod viros doceant, et ne parum hoc sit, quadam facilitate verborum, immo audacia disserunt aliis, quod ipsi non intellegunt. Taceo de meis similibus, qui si forte ad Scripturas sanctas post saeculares litteras venerint et sermone conposito aurem populi mulserint, quicquid dixerint, hoc legem Dei putant nec scire dignantur, quid prophetae, quid apostoli senserint, sed ad sensum suum incongrua aptant testimonia, quasi grande sit et non vitiosissimum dicendi genus depravare sententias et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere repugnantem. . . . Puerilia sunt haec et circulatorum ludo similia, docere, quod ignores, immo, ut cum Clitomacho loquar, ne hoc quidem scire, quod nescias."

In others of his letters Hieronymus satirizes the avarice and worldliness of both clergy and monks. This had grown to such proportions that clergymen were forbidden by law to receive bequests, as mentioned above, but these laws were evaded by the fiction of trusteeships and similar means, so that Hieronymus could say "Eagerness for personal wealth is the shame of the whole priesthood." In a passage like the following, which describes, first, the extreme of luxury at table which priests of humble origin now demand, and second, the humiliating and hypocritical depths to which they will stoop in the hope of pecuniary gain, we have a picture, different indeed in detail, but very similar in underlying thought, to that of the professional "*captator*" immortalized by Horace.

"Natus in paupere domo et in tugurio rusticano, qui vix milio et cibario pane rugientem saturare ventrem poteram,

[18] Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 117.

nunc similam et mella fastidio, novi et genera et nomina piscium, in quo litore conca lecta sit, calleo, saporibus avium discerno provincias[19] et ciborum me raritas ac novissime damna ipsa delectant. Audio praeterea in senes et anus absque liberis quorundam turpe servitium. Ipsi opponunt mattulam, obsident lectum et purulentias stomachi et phlegmata pulmonis manu propria suscipiunt. Pavent ad introitum medici trementibusque labiis, an commodius habeant, sciscitantur et, si paululum senex vegetior fuerit, periclitantur ac simulata laetitia mens intrinsecus avara torquetur. Timent enim, ne perdant ministerium, et vivacem senem Mathusalae annis comparant."[20]

Elsewhere he pays his respects to those who, professing to have renounced the world, still devote themselves to the accumulation of wealth and become richer as monks than they had been as laymen, who alter their garb but not their lives, who retain their throngs of servants, or those who apparently of humble estate, are found at their death to be possessed of large fortunes.

"Alii nummum addant nummo et marsuppium suffocantes matronarum opes venentur obsequiis, sint ditiores monachi, quam fuerant saeculares, possideant opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete diabolo non habuerant, et suspiret eos ecclesia divites, quos tenuit mundus ante mendicos; etc."[21]

"Vidi ego quosdam qui postquam renuntiavere saeculo, vestimentis duntaxat, et vocis professione, non rebus, nihil de pristina conversatione mutarunt. Res familiaris magis aucta quam imminuta. Eadem ministeria servulorum, idem apparatus convivii. In vitro et patella fictili aurum comeditur et inter turbas et examina ministrorum, nomen sibi vindicant solitarii. Qui vero pauperes sunt et tenui substantiola, videnturque sibi scioli; pomparum ferculis similes procedunt in publicum, ut caninam exerceant facundiam. Alii sublatis

[19] Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, II, 2, 31.
[20] Epistle 52, 6.
[21] Epistle 60, 11.

in altum humeris, et intra se nescio quid cornicantes, stupentibusque in terram oculis, tumentia verba trutinantur, ut si praeconem addideris, putes incedere praefecturam. . . . Quodque pudet dicere, sed necesse est, ut saltem sic ad nostrum erubescamus dedecus, publice extendentes manus, pannis aurum tegimus: et contra omnium opinionem, plenis sacculis morimur divites qui quasi pauperes viximus."[22]

In line with Hieronymus' criticisms of such pretence and hypocrisy are also his strictures on women who use false hair, who paint and plaster their faces till the course of an accidental tear resembles a furrow made by a plow, who can never realize that they have grown old, but make up as girls in the very presence of their grandchildren:

"Illae Christianos oculos potius scandalizent, quae purpurisso et quibusdam fucis ora oculosque depingunt, quarum facies gypseae et nimio candore deformes idola mentiuntur, quibus si forte inprovidens lacrimarum stilla eruperit, sulco defluit, quas nec numerus annorum potest docere, quod vetulae sunt, quae capillis alienis verticem instruunt et praeteritam iuventutem in rugis anilibus poliunt, quae denique ante nepotum gregem trementes virgunculae conponuntur."[23]

Again:

"Quanto foedior, tanto pulchrior. Quid facit in facie Christianae purpurissus et cerussa? quorum alterum ruborem genarum labiorumque mentitur, alterum candorem oris et colli: ignes iuvenum, fomenta libidinum, inpudicae mentis indicia. Quomodo flere potest pro peccatis suis, quae lacrimis cutem nudat et sulcos ducit in facie?"[24]

Still again, he warns a correspondent,

"Fuge lasciviam puellarum, quae ornant capita, crines a fronte demittunt, cutem poliunt, utuntur pigmentis, adstrictas

[22] Epistle 125, 16.
[23] Epistle, 38, 3.
[24] Epistle 54, 7.

habent manicas, vestimenta sine ruga, soccosque crispantes: ut sub nomine virginali, vendibilius pereant."[25]

The foregoing illustrations may serve to show the nature of Hieronymus' use of satire in his letters. In his controversial, polemical works also, we find the satirical element present, but in a somewhat different form. Hieronymus was not, like so many of the early Christian writers, an apologist against the pagan religions. It is, in fact, rather surprising how little attention he paid to the relations between Christian and pagan.[26] His controversial writings were instead confined to acrimonious disputes on points of doctrine with various heretics, or those who had attacked his own pet beliefs. It is a curious fact that rarely, if anywhere, can one find more intolerance and bitterness displayed than between two opponents within the early Christian Church. And Hieronymus' controversies are no exception to this.[27] In his books against Jovinian, Rufinus, Vigilantius, and Helvidius, he exults in the most extremely bitter invective, and contemptuous sarcasm and scorn. Whereas in his letters he does not name the objects of his most pointed references,[28] here he does not shrink in the least from the employment of personal satire.

Perhaps the short book *Contra Vigilantium* is one of the best examples of this kind of writing.[29] All the fabulous monsters of the Old Testament and of pagan mythology, and Hieronymus enumerates a list of them, must yield to this new monster which has arisen in Gaul. Vigilantius opposes the practice of vigils: therefore let him be known rather as Dormitantius,—"*tu vigilans dormis, et dormiens scribis.*" [30] He would abolish the reverent care and adoration of holy relics: should they then be thrown on a dung-hill? Were

[25] Epistle 130, 18.

[26] Grützmacher, *Hieronymus*, 1, 275 ff.

[27] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 445. Milman, *History of Christianity*, 3, 334.

[28] See below, p. 99.

[29] Milman, *History of Christianity*, 3, 335. Zöckler, *Hieronymus, Sein Leben und Wirken*, 305.

[30] *Contra Vigilantium*, 6.

the emperors and bishops who have preserved these relics not only sacrilegious but also fools? The phrase "*vilissimus pulvis*" is frequently used in ironical deference to Vigilantius' views on the subject of the ashes of dead martyrs; and such epithets as "*canis vivens*,"[31] "*insanum caput*,"[32] and "*te lingua viperea et morsu saevissimo*,"[33] are common, with "*tu prudentissimus et sapientissimus mortalium*[34]" used to mean exactly the same thing.

In the treatise against Helvidius, *De perpetua virginitate Beatae Mariae liber*, Hieronymus compares Helvidius with the man who sought to immortalize himself by putting the torch to the temple of Diana at Ephesus:

"Quis, te oro, ante hanc blasphemiam noverat, quis dupondii supputabat? Consecutus es quod volebas, nobilis es factus in scelere. Ego ipse qui contra te scribo, cum in eadem tecum urbe consistam, albus, ut aiunt, aterve sis, nescio."[35]

Another opponent, Jovinian, one of the "premature Protestants" who ventured to object to celibacy of the clergy and other similar tenets of the Church, calls down on his own head and those of his adherents the merciless abuse of Hieronymus. His build and complexion are against him, for he is a "*formosus monachus, crassus, nitidus, dealbatus*," one who delights in white garments and a shining skin and complicated dishes,—it is quite obvious that he prefers his belly to Christ.[36] His friends are dogs, pigs, and other animals.

"Quoscumque formosos, quoscumque calamistratos, quos crine composito, quos rubentibus buccis videro, de tuo armento sunt, immo inter tuos sues grunniunt. . . . Et pro magna sapientia deputas, si plures porci post te currant,

[31] Chapter 6.
[32] Chapter 5.
[33] Chapter 15.
[34] Chapter 11.
[35] *Adversus Helvidium* 16; cf. Catullus 93.
[36] *Adversus Iovinianum*, 1, 40.

quos gehennae succidiae nutrias? . . . Habes praeterea in exercitu plures succenturiatos, habes scurras et velites in praesidiis, crassos, comptos, nitidos, clamatores, qui te pugnis calcibusque defendant. Tibi cedunt de via nobiles, tibi osculantur divites caput. Nisi enim tu venisses, ebrii atque ructantes paradisum intrare non poterant."[37]

Hieronymus' books against Rufinus are "full of ferocious attacks and unsparing mockery";[38] they abound in cutting irony and personalities, for the strife between these former good friends was characterized by great acerbity on both sides.[39] An example:

"O triremem locupletissimam, quae Orientalibus et Aegyptiis mercibus Romanae urbis ditare venerat paupertatem!

Tu Maximus ille es
Unus qui nobis scribendo restituis rem.

Ergo nisi de Oriente venisses, eruditissimus vir haereret adhuc inter mathematicos, et omnes Christiani quid contra fatum dicerent, ignorarent. Merito a me quaeris de astrologia, et coeli ac siderum cursu qui tantarum mercium plenam navem detulisti. Fateor paupertatem, non sum ita ut tu in Oriente ditatus. Te multo tempore Pharus docuit, quod Roma nescivit; instruxit Aegyptus quod Italia hucusque non habuit."[40]

In another place he charges Rufinus with dishonesty and mocks at his personal appearance and characteristics. With gait like a tortoise and sobbing voice he advances to conferences with his pupils. Putting on an air of the profoundest learning, he utters the veriest trifles, and arrogates to himself the position of a Longinus. A Nero posing as a Cato, he is equal to the fabulous Chimaera of mythology:

"Testitudineo Grunnius incedebat ad loquendum gradu, et per intervalla quaedam, vix pauca verba carpebat, ut eum

[37] *Adversus Iovinianum*, 2, 36–37.
[38] Zöckler, *Hieronymus, Sein Leben und Wirken*, 259.
[39] Schanz, *Geschichte*, IV, 1, 433.
[40] *Adversus Rufinum*, 3, 29.

putares singultire, non proloqui. Et tamen cum mensa posita, librorum exposuisset struem, adducto supercilio, contractisque naribus, ac fronte rugata, duobus digitulis concrepabat, hoc signo ad audiendum discipulos provocans. Tum nugas meras fundere, et adversum singulos declamare; criticum diceres esse Longinum, censoremque Romanae facundiae, notare quem vellet, et de senatu doctorum excludere. Hic bene nummatus, plus placebat in prandiis. Nec mirum, si qui multos inescare solitus erat, facto cuneo circumstrepentium garrulorum, procedebat in publicum: intus Nero, foris Cato. Totus ambiguus, ut ex contrariis diversisque naturis, unum monstrum novamque bestiam diceres esse compactam, iuxta illud poeticum.

Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa chimaera."[41]

In combating with all the strength and vigor of his asceticism the strong tendency within the Church away from the ideal of a celibate priesthood and celibacy in general, Hieronymus was wont to assume the aggressive and draw satirical pictures of the married state.[42] So in his book against Helvidius he asks sarcastically how a married woman can find time for religious duties in the midst of the turmoil of a household. Babies are crying, the servants are noisy, accounts have to be figured up, and meanwhile her husband sends word he is bringing friends home to dinner. The wife must fly hither and thither like a swallow, to see if the dinner is preparing, the dishes clean, the floor swept,—where is there an opportunity for pious meditation and prayer in such a household?

"Idem tu putes esse diebus et noctibus vacare orationi, vacare ieiuniis; et ad adventum mariti expolire faciem, grassum frangere, simulare blanditias? Illa hoc agit ut turpior appareat, et naturae bonum infuscet iniuria. Haec ad specu-

[41] Lucretius, 5, 905. Hieronymus, Epistle 125, 10; cf. Thierry, *St. Jérome*, 2, 41–5.

[42] Thierry, *St. Jérome*, 1, 179 ff.

lum pingitur, et in contumeliam artificis conatur pulchrior esse quam nata est.[43]

" Inde infantes garriunt, familia perstrepit, liberi ab osculis et ab ore dependent, computantur sumptus, impendia praeparantur. Hinc cocorum accincta manus carnes terit, hinc textricum turba commurmurat; nuntiatur interim vir venisse cum sociis. Illa ad hirundinis modum lustrat universa penetralia, si torus rigeat, si pavimenta verrerint, si ornata sunt pocula, si prandium praeparatum. Responde, quaeso, inter ista ubi sit Dei cogitatio? Et hae felices domus? Ceterum ubi tympana sonant, tibia clamitat, lyra garrit, cymbalum concrepat, quis ibi Dei timor? Parasitus in contumelia gloriatur; ingrediuntur expositae libidinum victimae, et tenuitate vestium nudae impudicis oculis ingeruntur. His infelix uxor, aut laetatur et perit; aut offenditur, et maritus in iurgia concitatur. Hinc discordia, seminarium repudii. Aut si aliqua invenitur domus in qua ista non fiunt, quae rara avis est; tamen ipsa dispensatio domus, liberorum educatio, necessitas mariti, correctio servulorum, quam a Dei cogitate non avocent?"[44]

The tone of satire which underlies this description is clear. The author presents a picture which is partial and onesided, for the purpose of emphasizing and deriding certain phases of married life, as if other phases equally real did not exist at all.

In the first book against Jovinian, Hieronymus quotes a passage from Theophrastus' "*De nuptiis*,"[45] which is of a decidedly satirical nature. No wise man ever marries, for wives are a nuisance. They prevent their husbands from

[43] Cf. Prudentius, *Hamartigenia*, 264 ff.:

Nec enim contenta decore
Ingenito externam mentitur femina formam.
Ac velut artificis Domini manus inperfectum
Os dederit, etc.

[44] *Adversus Helvidium*, 20.

[45] Perhaps derived from Seneca, cf. *Adversus Iovinianum*, 1, 49.

studying. They have expensive tastes. They are jealous. Their true character never appears till after marriage, whereas anything else, from cattle to earthenware, can be examined thoroughly before taking. They demand constant adulation and indulgence. If one submits the control of his affairs to his wife, she is a tyrant; if not, she complains of being distrusted. Beautiful, she attracts lovers; ugly, she repels her husband. A faithful slave makes a better housekeeper, for he will obey orders, while a wife does as she pleases, not as she is bidden. She must have constant attention and care. Further, she is needless as a companion, for the wise man is never lonely. To marry for the sake of children is foolishness: the wise man cares nothing about the continuance of his name; as a support in old age children are uncertain, for they may die young or grow up wicked; it is much more satisfactory to take for one's heir a friend whom one can choose or discard, as one cannot children.

The fact has been pointed out by Reich[46] that this passage is really malapropos, for Hieronymus is arguing in favor of *women* remaining single, while Theophrastus was seeking to show, by depicting the faults and failings of the female sex, that no wise *man* would marry. This curious "misfit" well illustrates one side of our author's temperament. We may say, with Reich, that he was so fond of such material descriptive of life and manners that he would use it even when it only partially suited his purpose. Forgetting for the moment his previous point of view, Hieronymus continues somewhat in the same tone as Theophrastus, with various historical examples of unhappy marriages, and adds the satirical reflection that most of the troubles of mankind can be traced ultimately to woman as a source; hence, as marriage can only be tested by its outcome, a wise man should avoid it altogether, to be on the safe side.[47]

[46] *Der Mimus*, 1, 756.
[47] *Adv. Iovinianum*, 1, 48.

Reich points out in much detail the many references by Hieronymus to mimes and players, and the close connection between some of his descriptions and certain types in the contemporary mimes and comedies.[48] There is no doubt a great deal of truth in this. It is hardly likely that in all his satirical passages Hieronymus had some definite person in mind, but rather that he was making a kind of composite photograph, drawing material from more than one source. And hence it is entirely natural that he should have been influenced by popular comic portrayals of types, that even in the description of the "clerical coxcomb" in the letter to Eustochium there should be a reminiscence of a mimic type;[49] but there must have been a groundwork of fact and real personality behind these descriptions. Other evidence points this way[50]; and on no other supposition can we base an adequate explanation of the extreme personal hostility with which Hieronymus was regarded by so many of the contemporary churchmen.

Hieronymus, in short, was a satirist of ability. Abundant proof that he read and enjoyed the classical satirists is afforded by the numerous quotations from and references to these writers, especially Horace and Persius.[51] He realized the fact that in temperament and subject-matter and style of treatment there was between him and the elder satirists no small degree of kinship. He thus classes himself with Juvenal and Horace[52]:

Possum remordere, si velim, possum genuinum laesus infigere[53]*; et nos didicimus litterulas.*

Et nos saepe manum ferulae subtraximus,[54]

[48] *Der Mimus*, 1, 747 ff., 763.

[49] Reich, *Der Mimus*, 1, 764–5.

[50] See references to Ammianus Marcellinus and Sulpicius Severus; above, p. 82 f.

[51] Lübeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores*, 160–7; 193; 195–9.

[52] Epistle 50, 5.

[53] Cf. Persius, 1, 115.

[54] Juvenal, 1, 15.

de nobis quoque dici potest

Faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge.[55]

But yet he did not wish to be called a satirist, or that his strictures against vice should be classed as satire. The reason which he gives for this is the strangely inadequate reason that he does not mention names.[56] This, he maintains, is sufficient to prevent his most personal and detailed attacks from being satire. In Epistle 22, 32 he says: "*Vidi nuper—nomen taceo, ne saturam putes—nobilissimam mulierum Romanarum in basilica Beati Petri,*" etc. The only logical inference to be drawn from "*nomen taceo, ne saturam putes*" is that the use of the woman's name would, to his mind, have caused him to be satirizing her, which, as it was, he avoided doing. In Epistle 40, 2, he says: "*Dico quosdam scelere, periurio, falsitate, ad dignitatem nescio quam pervenisse. . . . Quicquid dictum fuerit, in te dictum putas. In quodcumque vitium stili mei mucro contorquetur, te clamitas designari, conserta manu in ius vocas et satiricum scriptorem in prosa stulte arguis.*" Vallarsi's note on this, viz., that to say "he writes prose satires" would be as absurd as to say "he writes prose sonnets," because the satire must be in verse, seems to me clearly to miss the point of the passage. It is not the fact that he writes in prose that makes it seem foolish to Hieronymus for anyone to call him a "*satiricum scriptorem,*"

[55] Horace, *Sermones*, I, 4, 34.

[56] The use of personal names by a satirist may be due to either one of two motives. Most obvious, of course, is the definite intention of satirizing the given person. But this demands a considerable degree of security for the satirist against the resentment of the person satirized. Lucilius dared to attack living men; Juvenal did not. Juvenal, 1, 153 ff. Then again, the use of names may serve merely to give added vividness and concreteness to the thought. The names may be real, or disguised, or purely invented, like our "Mr. Gotrox," "The Newlyweds," etc. There seem in fact to have been some stock names favored by satirists, as "Nomentanus," for a spendthrift, "Novius," for an upstart, etc. See Wickham's Horace, Vol. 2, pp. 9 ff. See also below, p. 123–4. It seems to be the idea of Hieronymus that this use of names is actually an *essential* characteristic of satire, as such.

but the fact that he does not call anyone by name. "*Quidam*," he says, "*ad dignitatem nescio quam pervenerunt*," and the emphasis is on the indefiniteness of the pronouns. Again, at the end of Epistle 52, he pleads against a harsh and unjust contemporary opinion of himself:

"Non enim ut adversarii, sed ut amici scripsimus, nec invecti sumus in eos, qui peccant, sed, ne peccent, monuimus. Neque in illos tantum, sed et in nos ipsos severi iudices fuimus, volentesque festucam de oculo alterius tollere nostram prius trabem eiecimus. Nullum laesi, nullus saltim descriptione signatus est, neminem specialiter meus sermo pulsavit: generalis de vitiis disputatio est. Qui mihi irasci voluerit, prius ipse de se, quod talis sit, confitetur."[57]

But we have seen that, in his controversial writings, Hieronymus does not hesitate to name the objects of his attacks; and as for the rest, who would dream of saying that Horace's famous ninth satire is any less a satire because the bore's name is left out?

[57] Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, I, 4, 65–70.

CLAUDIAN

Claudius Claudianus, a poet of classical caliber in post-classical times, or "the posthumous child of the classical world," as Mackail calls him,[1] was the most important literary figure of his age. He was an Alexandrian by birth, and was born about 374 A. D.[2] He wrote in Greek in his early years; and the high degree of excellence which he attained in Latin is the all more remarkable because it was not his native tongue. He came to Rome about 394 or 395 and attached himself to wealthy and influential patrons. His first Latin poem of which we have knowledge was a panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius, consuls in 395. The excellence of his work makes it probable indeed that he had written Latin poetry before this occasion, but this was the first to be published.[3] He soon became a follower of Stilicho, the powerful and able minister of the western Emperor Honorius, and remained consistently loyal to him. Praise of Stilicho is the underlying theme of almost all his important poems. He occupied what amounted to a position of Poet Laureate at the imperial court, and in spite of his partisanship in favor of Stilicho, his poems are of considerable value in the reconstruction of the history of the period.[4] The date of Claudian's death is unknown; but the absence of any work dating later than about 404 is best explained on the supposition that that year was his last.[5] He was then still a young man, aged barely thirty years, and yet ranks among the greatest of Roman poets.

[1] *Latin Literature*, 267.

[2] Birt, *Prolegomena* to his edition of the text, pp. iii, xii.

[3] Vollmer in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, 3, 2652; Birt, *Prolegomena*, viii; Claudian, *Carmina minora*, 41, 13 ff.

[4] J. H. E. Crees, *Claudian as an historical authority*, 183 ff.

[5] Birt, *Prolegomena*, lx.

LIBRARY

There are two of the major works of Claudian which will prove of special interest to students of satire in post-classical Latin. These are the poems bearing the titles *In Rufinum* and *In Eutropium*. Rufinus and Eutropius were successive ministers of the eastern Emperor Arcadius, and thereby rivals of Stilicho in world-politics. Hence they were naturally subjects for the invective of Stilicho's client Claudian; and both seem to have been of a character peculiarly fitting them for satirical treatment. Rufinus was an unscrupulous tyrant, and Eutropius a corrupt and ignoble politician.[6]

The first of the two books against Rufinus begins with a truly magnificent and lofty exordium which has a vein of very powerful satire running through it. The poet has been troubled with doubts of the existence of a divine government of the universe as opposed to blind chance. Natural phenomena and natural laws seemed to testify that such a government existed: the darkness of human affairs and triumph of the wicked had shaken this conviction. But at last all doubts are set at rest. The overthrow of Rufinus proves beyond shadow of question that the gods are both righteous and powerful. It is well that the unjust should sometimes be raised to high power, that their fall may be more impressive and terrible.[7] Thus Claudian magnifies the personality, the evil personality, of Rufinus, to a point where he seems almost more than human, a being whose menacing shadow has darkened the world, whose "bad eminence" entitles him to be named in connection with primal, cosmic forces. By this means the poet creates the desired impression at the very outset, and leaves his readers prepared to hear the worst possible things about Rufinus.

> Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
> Curarent superi terras an nullus inesset
> Rector et incerto fluerent mortalia casu.

[6] Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3, 217, 360 ff.

[7] Cf. Horace, *Carmina*, II, 10, 9 ff. Juvenal, 10, 106.

Nam cum dispositi quaesissem foedera mundi
Praescriptosque mari fines annisque meatus
Et lucis noctisque vices: tunc omnia rebar
Consilio firmata dei, qui lege moveri
Sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci,
Qui variam Phoeben alieno iusserit igni
Compleri Solemque suo, porrexerit undis
Litora, tellurem medio libraverit axe.
Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Aspicerem laetosque diu florere nocentes
Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat
Relligio causaeque viam non sponte sequebar
Alterius, vacuo quae currere semina motu
Affirmat magnumque novas per inane figuras
Fortuna, non arte regi, quae numina sensu
Ambiguo vel nulla putat vel nescia nostri.
Abstulit hunc tandem Rufini poena tumultum
Absolvitque deos. Iam non ad culmina rerum
Iniustos crevisse queror; tolluntur in altum,
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.

In a high epic style, which serves to render the object of his satire only the more important, the poet narrates to us how the infernal powers, maliciously desiring to do harm to mankind, deliberated in council, and finally decided to send Rufinus, a monster of vice, to bring woe upon the nations. Megaera, most terrible of the Furies, thus describes his character, even confessing herself outdone in wickedness:

Est mihi prodigium cunctis immanius hydris,
Tigride mobilius feta, violentius Austris
Acribus, Euripi fulvis incertius undis
Rufinus, quem prima meo de matre cadentem
Suscepi gremio. Parvus reptavit in isto
Saepe sinu teneroque per ardua colla volutus
Ubera quaesivit fletu linguisque trisulcis
Mollia lambentes finxerunt membra cerastae.
Meque etiam tradente dolos artesque nocendi
Edidicit: simulare fidem sensusque minaces
Protegere et blando fraudem praetexere risu,
Plenus saevitiae lucrique cupidine fervens.
Non Tartesiacis illum satiaret harenis
Tempestas pretiosa Tagi, non stagna rubentis
Aurea Pactoli; totumque exhauserit Hermum:
Ardebit maiore siti. Quam fallere mentes

Doctus et unanimos odiis turbare sodales!
Talum progenies hominum si prisca tulisset,
Perithoum fugeret Theseus, offensus Orestem
Desereret Pylades, odisset Castora Pollux.
Ipsa quidem fateor vinci rapidoque magistram
Praevenit ingenio; nec plus sermone morabor:
Solus habet scelerum quidquid possedimus omnes.
Hunc ego, si vestrae res est accommoda turbae,
Regalem ad summi producam principis aulam.
Sit licet ipse Numa gravior, sit denique Minos,
Cedet et insidiis nostri flectetur alumni.

So the Fury visits Rufinus in his humble home and urges him to action, holding glittering promises of great power before him, and he starts on his evil career. A long and keenly satirical description of his rise to power, and of his crimes and excesses, follows.

His avarice was so great that it was insatiable, just as the sea remains at a level in spite of the vast rivers which pour into it. Wealth was a mere invitation to come and plunder: a fertile field spelled destruction for its owner.

Cuicumque monile
Contextum gemmis aut praedia culta fuissent,
Rufino populandus erat, dominoque parabat
Exitium fecundus ager; metuenda colonis
Fertilitas: Laribus pellit, detrudit avitis
Finibus; aut aufert vivis aut occupat heres.
Congestae cumulantur opes orbisque ruinas
Accipit una domus; populi servire coacti
Plenaque privato succumbunt oppida regno.
Quo vesane ruis? Teneas utrumque licebit
Oceanum, laxet rutilos tibi Lydia fontes,
Iungatur solium Croesi Cyrique tiara:
Numquam dives eris, numquam satiabere quaestu.
Semper inops quicumque cupit.[8]

Far better the simplicity of the ancients than the excessive luxury of Rufinus:

Vivitur exiguo melius; natura beatis
Omnibus esse dedit, si quis cognoverit uti.
Haec si nota forent, frueremur simplice cultu,
Classica non gemerent, non stridula fraxinus iret,
Non ventus quateret puppes, non machina muros.

[8] Cf. above; pp. 46 n., 77 n.

He was vindictive, savage, inflexible. In a blaze of indignant denunciation Claudian portrays him as worse than the proverbial types of cruelty:

Si semel e tantis poscenti quisque negasset,
Effera praetumido quatiebat corda furore.
Quae sic Gaetuli iaculo percussa leaena
Aut Hyrcana premens raptorem belua partus
Aut serpens calcata furit? Iurata deorum
Maiestas teritur; nusquam reverentia mensae.
Non coniunx, non ipse, simul non pignora caesi
Sufficiunt odiis; non extinxisse propinquos,
Non notos egisse sat est; excindere cives
Funditus et nomen gentis delere laborat.
Nec celeri perimit leto; crudelibus ante
Suppliciis fruitur; cruciatus, vincla, tenebras
Dilato mucrone parat.
. . . . . .
Non flectitur annis,
Non aetate labat: iuvenum rorantia colla
Ante patrum vultus stricta cecidere secuti;
Ibat grandaevus nato moriente superstes
Post trabeas exul. Quis prodere tanta relatu
Funera, quis caedes possit deflere nefandas?
Quid tale immanes umquam gessisse feruntur
Vel Sinis Isthmiaca pinu vel rupe profunda
Sciron vel Phalaris tauro vel carcere Sulla?
O mites Diomedis equi! Busiridis arae
Clementes! Iam Cinna pius, iam Spartace segnis
Rufino collatus eris!

To contrast with this, Stilicho is praised,—the saviour of Rome, as noble as Rufinus is base; and the book closes with the rumblings of the coming conflict.

Meanwhile (Book 2), the East itself is invaded by barbarians from across the frozen Danube. Desolation marks their path as they approach Constantinople. From within Rufinus rejoices, with pure love of evil, at their devastation, and is grieved only that he himself is not the agent of death.

Obsessa tamen ille ferus laetatur in urbe
Exsultatque malis summaeque ex culmine turris
Impia vicini cernit spectacula campi:
Vinctas ire nurus, hunc in vada proxima mergi

Seminecem, hunc subito percussum vulnere labi
Dum fugit, hunc animam portis efflare sub ipsis:
Nec canos prodesse seni puerique cruore
Maternos undare sinus. Inmensa voluptas
Et risus plerumque subit; dolor afficit unus,
Quod feriat non ipse manu.

And now Stilicho, leading a host like that of Xerxes, drawn from both West and East, draws near. Rufinus is terrified, and as a last resort artfully prevails on his master Arcadius to bid Stilicho withdraw. Though astounded and mortified, Stilicho obeys; but the eastern legions, now ordered to Constantinople, remain intensely loyal to him, and with one mind plot vengeance on Rufinus.

"Now Claudian with powerful irony shows us Rufinus triumphant, exulting with his satellites, and on the eve of his murder dreaming of winning the purple."[9] It is a most dramatic scene where the ambitious man, ignorant of his impending fate, is surrounded by armed foes at the very moment when he stretches out his hand for the imperial power.

Cingi se fervidus ille
Nescit adhuc graviterque adprensa veste morantem
Increpat Augustum: scandat sublime tribunal,
Participem sceptri, socium declaret honoris—
Cum subito stringunt gladios; vox desuper ingens
Infremuit: "Nobis etiam, deterrime, nobis
Sperasti famulas imponere posse catenas?
Unde redi nescis? Patiarne audire satelles,
Qui leges aliis libertatemque reduxi?
Bis domitum civile nefas, bis rupimus Alpes.
Tot nos bella docent nulli servire tyranno."

Then Rufinus is slain and torn to pieces by the soldiery,—all of which is depicted "with the savage coolness of an anatomist."[10]

The poem ends in a manner worthy of its beginning. Just as we saw the council of evil deities which set in motion Rufinus' career, so we follow his soul down into the lower

[9] Crees, *Claudian as an historical authority*, 66.

[10] Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall*, 3, 229 note.

world. The souls of those who had suffered beneath his oppression drag him before the judgment seat of Rhadamanthus, who thus addresses him "*visu severo*:"

Huc superum labes, huc insatiabilis auri
Proluvies pretioque nihil non ause parato,
Quodque mihi summum scelus est, huc improbe legum
Venditor, Arctoi stimulator perfide Martis!
Cuius ob innumeras strages angustus Averni
Iam sinus et plena lassatur portitor alno.
Quid demens manifesta negas? En pectus inustae
Deformant maculae vitiisque inolevit imago
Nec sese commissa tegunt. Genus omne dolorum
In te ferre libet: dubio tibi pendula rupes
Inmineat lapsu, volucer te torqueat axis.
Te refugi fallant latices atque ore natanti
Arescat decepta sitis dapibusque relictis
In tua mansurus migret praecordia vultur.
Quamquam omnes alii, quos haec tormenta fatigant,
Pars quota sunt, Rufine, tui! Quid tale vel audax
Fulmine Salmoneus vel lingua Tantalus egit
Aut inconsulto Tytios deliquit amore?
Cunctorum si facta simul iungantur in unum,
Praecedes numero. Cui tanta piacula quisquam
Supplicio conferre valet? Quid denique dignum
Omnibus inveniam, vincant cum singula poenas?
Tollite de mediis animarum dedecus umbris.
Aspexisse sat est. Oculis iam parcite nostris
Et Ditis purgate domos. Agitate flagellis
Trans Styga, trans Erebum, vacuo mandate barathro
Infra Titanum tenebras infraque recessus
Tartareos nostrumque Chaos, qua noctis opacae
Fundamenta latent; praeceps ibi mersus anhelet,
Dum rotat astra polus, feriunt dum litora venti.

The *In Rufinum* is thus seen to be a combination of the satirical and the epic. To satirize Stilicho's enemy is the central motive of the poem, and the use of the epic style and epic paraphernalia actually strengthens and helps the satire. The introduction of supernatural machinery not only raises the theme above a petty intrigue and rivalry between two imperial officials: it makes one conceive of Rufinus as more than an ordinary bad man, as a monster, who is encouraged

and aided by the powers of hell, and thus stands out in blacker relief than otherwise.

Moreover, the narration of the ultimate fate after death of Rufinus as part of a satirical work gains in interest when we recall the treatment of such a topic in earlier satire. Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* is devoted to nothing but such a theme; and, although the style of treatment is very dissimilar, being in the one case burlesque and comical—in the other lofty and serious, it remains true that this part also had its satirical value, and forms a fitting climax to the poem viewed purely from the satirical standpoint.[11]

The fall of Rufinus was followed by the ascendancy of the eunuch Eutropius, who had, in fact, as chief chamberlain, measured himself with success against Rufinus in the matter of the Emperor's marriage. He proved to be no less venal, and more contemptible, than his predecessor had been, and the *In Eutropium* of Claudian is a companion piece to his *In Rufinum*.

This is really to be divided into three parts, as Birt[12] points out, for the *Praefatio* to the second book appears to be a later composition than the second book proper, after the issue had been decided.

The keynote of this satire is struck in the opening lines. "A eunuch consul!" is the ironical exclamation of the poet. 'Tis the shame of earth and heaven. What new prodigies and marvels will follow this? Doubtless we shall next be taking felons from our prisons and elevating them to high office.

> Semiferos partus metuendaque pignora matri
> Moenibus et mediis auditum nocte luporum
> Murmur et attonito pecudes pastore locutas
> Et lapidum duras hiemes nimboque minacem

[11] One sees also certain likenesses to Juvenal's tenth satire, which describes the fall of Sejanus, another imperial minister. Cf. Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren des alten Rom*, 60–61.

[12] *Zwei politische Satiren*, 49 ff.

Sanguineo rubuisse Iovem puteosque cruore
Mutatos binasque polo concurrere lunas
Et geminos soles mirari desinat orbis.
Omnia cesserunt eunucho consule monstra.
Heu terrae caelique pudor! Trabeata per urbes
Ostentatur anus titulumque effeminat anni.
Pandite pontifices Cumanae carmina vatis,
Fulmineos sollers Etruria consulat ignes
Inmersumque nefas fibris exploret haruspex,
Quae nova portendant superi. Nilusne meatu
Devius et nostri temptat iam transfuga mundi
Se rubro miscere mari? Ruptone Niphate
Rursum barbaricis Oriens vastabitur armis?
An morbi ventura lues? An nulla colono
Responsura seges? Quae tantas expiet iras
Victima? Quo diras iugulo placabimus aras?
. . . . . .
Sic omnia nobis,
Hoc regni, Fortuna, tenes? Quaenam ista iocandi
Saevitia? Humanis quantum bacchabere rebus?
Si tibi servili placuit foedare curules
Crimine, procedat laxata compede consul,
Rupta Quirinales sumant ergastula cinctus;
Da saltem quemcumque virum.

If we must be ruled by a slave, let it be one who has served but one master. The owners of Eutropius are as the waves of the sea, or the sands of Libya. He was not worth keeping, was constantly sold, and at last even given away:

Omnes paenituit pretii venumque redibat
Dum vendi potuit. Postquam deforme cadaver
Mansit et in rugas totus defluxit aniles,
Iam specie doni certatim limine pellunt
Et foedum ignaris properant obtrudere munus.

The base condition of his early years is depicted. Claudian satirically puts into his mouth a lament on being discarded by his first owner, which parodies the traditional lament of the deserted wife or mistress in the erotic poets (vv. 66 ff.). Finally after various unenviable vicissitudes, the future patrician and consul becomes the servant of a great lady,—to comb her hair, to hold the silver basin, and wield the fan of peacocks' feathers.

Eous rector consulque futurus
Pectebat dominae crines et saepe lavanti
Nudus in argento lympham gestabat alumnae.
Et cum se rapido fessam proiecerat aestu
Patricius roseis pavonum ventilat alis.

His appearance corresponded with his character: prematurely old, wrinkled, and tremulous, partly bald, a horrible sight,—too weak for manual labor, too vile for positions of trust,—this is he who became ruler, after being scorned by very slaves.

Est ubi despectus nimius iuvat. Undique pulso
Per cunctas licuit fraudes impune vagari
Et fatis aperire viam. Pro! quisquis Olympi
Summa tenes, tanto libuit mortalia risu
Vertere? Qui servi non est admissus in usum,
Suscipitur regnis, et quem privata ministrum
Dedignata domus, moderantem sustinet aula.
Ut primum vetulam texere palatia vulpem,
Quis non ingemuit? Quis non inrepere sacris
Obsequiis doluit totius venale cadaver?
Ipsi quin etiam tali consorte fremebant
Regales famuli, quibus est inlustrior ordo
Servitii, sociumque diu sprevere superbi.

Nothing is worse than a base-born slave suddenly become powerful, and a eunuch worst of all. But though deprived of manhood, he retained his vices, and chief was his greed of gold. Honors and offices were sold at regular prices by one who had been so often sold himself:

Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum:
Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet, desaevit in omnes
Ut se posse putent, nec belua taetrior ulla
Quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis;
Agnoscit gemitus et poenae parcere nescit,
Quam subiit, dominique memor, quem verberat, odit.
Adde, quod eunuchus nulla pietate movetur
Nec generi natisve cavet. Clementia cunctis
In similes, animosque ligant consortia damni;
Iste nec eunuchis placidus. Sed peius in aurum
Aestuat; hoc uno fruitur succisa libido.
Quid nervos secuisse iuvat? Vis nulla cruentam
Castrat avaritiam. Parvis exercita furtis
Quae vastare penum neglectaque sueverat arcae

Clausa remoliri, nunc uberiore rapina
Peccat in orbe manus. Quidquid se Tigris ab Haemo
Dividit, hoc certa proponit merce locandum
Institor imperii, caupo famosus honorum.
Hic Asiam villa pactus regit; ille redemit
Coniugis ornatu Syriam; dolet ille paterna
Bithynos mutasse domo. Subfixa patenti
Vestibulo pretiis distinguit regula gentes.
Tot Galatae, tot Pontus eat, tot Lydia nummis;
Si Lyciam tenuisse velis, tot millia ponas,
Si Phrygas, adde; parum! Propriae solacia sorti
Communes vult esse notas et venditus ipse
Vendere cuncta cupit. Certantum saepe duorum
Diversum suspendit onus; cum pondere iudex
Vergit, et in geminas nutat provincia lances.

Was it for this, for the profit of Eutropius, that Roman armies subdued and annexed the East? To the shame of Mars and the scorn of Enyo, he dons arms and plays the warrior. The Goths rejoice, and plunder Greece, Asia, and Syria with impunity, while he returns in pretended triumph, the shameless hypocrite:

Placet ipse sibi laxasque laborat
Distendisse genas fictumque inflatus anhelat,
Pulvere respersus tineas it solibus ora
Pallidior, verbisque sonat plorabile quiddam
Ultra nequitiam fractis et proelia narrat
Perque suam tremula testatur voce sororum;
Defecisse vagas ad publica commoda vires;
Cedere livori nec sustentare procellas
Invidiae; mergique fretis spumantibus orat.
Exoretque utinam!

Never before was a eunuch consul, magistrate, and general. A sight at once more ridiculous than comedy, more grave than tragedy:

Nil adeo foedum, quod non exacta vetustas
Ediderit longique labor commiserit aevi.
Oedipodes matrem, natam duxisse Thyestes
Cantatur, peperit fratres Iocasta marito
Et Pelopea sibi. Thebas ac funera Troiae
Tristis Erechthei deplorat scena theatri.
In volucrem Tereus, Cadmus se vertit in anguem,
Scylla novos mirata canes. Hunc arbore figit,

Elevat hunc pluma, squamis hunc fabula vestit,
Hunc solvit fluvio. Numquam spado consul in orbe
Nec iudex ductorve fuit. Quodcumque virorum
Est decus, eunuchi scelus est. Exempla creantur
Quae socci superent risus luctusque cothurni.

Such a disgrace is not credited, at first, by the people:

Fama prius falso similis vanoque videri
Ficta ioco; levior volitare per oppida rumor
Riderique nefas: veluti nigrantibus alis
Audiretur olor, corvo certante ligustris.
Atque aliquis gravior morum: "si talibus" inquit
"Creditur et nimiis turgent mendacia monstris,
Iam testudo volat, profert iam cornua vultur;
Prona petunt retro fluvii iuga; Gadibus ortum
Carmani texere diem; iam frugibus aptum
Aequor et adsuetum silvis delphina videbo;
Iam cochleis homines iunctos et quidquid inane
Nutrit Iudaicis quae pingitur India velis."
Subicit et mixtis salibus lascivior alter:
"Miraris? nihil est, quod non in pectore magnum
Concipit Eutropius. Semper nova, grandia semper
Diligit et celeri degustat singula sensu.
Nil timet a tergo; vigilantibus undique curis
Nocte dieque patet; lenis facilisque moveri
Supplicibus mediaque tamen mollissimus ira
Nil negat et sese vel non poscentibus offert.
Quidlibet ingenuo subigit traditque fruendum;
Quidquid amas, dabit illa manus; communiter omni
Fungitur officio gaudetque potentia flecti.
Hoc quoque conciliis peperit meritoque laborum,
Accipit et trabeas argutae praemia dextrae."

Up to this point the book has been pure satire. Now the inevitable Stilicho appears, and the remainder of the book is taken up by an appeal to him by the spirit of Rome to put an end to such an intolerable situation.

Book 2 is written after the fall of Eutropius from his high estate. The expected has happened. The omens have been fulfilled. Yet had there been no omens, had Eutropius even been blessed with favorable ones, 'twere a disgrace to have so honored him.

Utque semel patuit monstris iter, omnia tempus
Nacta suum properant: nasci tum decolor imber
Infantumque novi voltus et dissona partu
Semina, tum lapidum fletus armentaque vulgo
Ausa loqui mediisque ferae se credere muris;
Tum vates sine more rapi lymphataque passim
Pectora terrifici stimulis ignescere Phoebi.
Fac nullos cecinisse deos: adeone retusi
Quisquam cordis erit, dubitet qui partibus illis
Affore fatalem castrati consulis annum?
Sed quam caecus inest vitiis amor! Omne futurum
Despicitur suadentque brevem praesentia fructum
Et ruit in vetitum damni secura libido,
Dum mora supplicii lucro serumque quod instat
Creditur. Haut equidem contra tot signa Camillo
Detulerim fasces, nedum (pro sexus!) inerti
Mancipio, cui cuncta licet responsa iuberent
Hortantesque licet sponderent prospera divi,
Turpe fuit cessisse viros.

The disgrace of his rule is accentuated by ironical comparisons:

Spado Romuleo succinctus amictu
Sedit in Augustis laribus.
. . . . . .
Subter adulantes tituli nimiaeque leguntur
Vel maribus laudes: claro quod nobilis ortu
(Cum vivant domini), quod maxima proelia solus
Impleat (et patitur miles!), quod tertius urbis
Conditor (hoc Byzas Constantinusque videbunt!).

Now the "creaking mythological machinery" of epic is employed. Mars, observing the world with a cruel smile, bids Bellona stir to revolt a band of Gothic colonists in Phrygia. This is accomplished in a way similar to the rousing of Turnus in the Aeneid.[13] The turreted crown falls from the head of Cybebe; and, recognizing the fulfilment of an old prophecy, she bids farewell to the land.

Eutropius, while publicly minimizing the importance of the revolt, secretly tries to bribe the Goths, but, emboldened by success, they haughtily refuse. He is forced to call a council

[13] Book 7, 415 ff.

to deal with the situation. It is a council worthy of such a premier: a most contemptuous passage[14] describes them,—their chief a cook:

Iuvenes venere protervi
Lascivique senes, quibus est insignis edendi
Gloria corruptasque dapes variasse decorum,
Qui ventrem invitant pretio traduntque palato
Sidereas Iunonis aves et signa loquendi
Gnara coloratis viridis defertur ab Indis,
Quaesitos trans regna cibos, quorumque profundam
Ingluviem non Aegaeus, non alta Propontis,
Non freta longinquis Maeotia piscibus explent.
Vestis odoratae studium; laus maxima risum
Per vanos movisse sales minimeque viriles;
Munditiae; compti vultus; onerique vel ipsa
Serica. Si Chunus feriat, si Sarmata portas,
Solliciti scaenae; Romam contemnere sueti
Mirarique suas, quas Bosphorus obruat, aedes;
Saltandi dociles aurigarumque periti.
Pars humili de plebe duces. Pars compede suras
Cruraque signati nigro liventia ferro
Iura regunt, facies quamvis inscripta repugnet
Seque suo prodat titulo. Sed prima potestas
Eutropium praefert Hosio subnixa secundo.
Dulcior hic sane cunctis prudensque movendi
Iuris et admoto qui temperet omnia fumo,
Fervidus, accensam sed qui bene decoquat iram.
Considunt apices gemini dicionis Eoae,
Hic cocus, hic leno, defessi verbere terga,
Servitio, non arte pares, hic saepius emptus,
Alter ad Hispanos nutritus verna Penates.[15]

Eutropius calls them from their accustomed pleasures to the, matter in hand. Suddenly Leo, a former worker in wool now the Ajax of Eutropius, boldly volunteers to "shear" the rebel chief:

Emicat extemplo cunctis trepidantibus audax
Crassa mole Leo, quem vix Cyclopia solum
Aequatura fames, quem non ieiuna Celaeno
Vinceret; hinc nomen fertur meruisse Leonis.
Acer in absentes linguae iactator, abundans
Corporis exiguusque animi, doctissimis artis

[14] Cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, 2, 541.

[15] Observe the pun on *iuris*, 348.

Quondam lanificae, moderatur pectinis unci.
Non alius lanam purgatis sordibus aeque
Praebuerit calathis, similis nec pinguia quisquam
Vellera per tenues ferri producere rimas.
Tunc Aiax erat Eutropii lateque fremebat,
Non septem vasto quatiens umbone iuvencos,
Sed, quam perpetuis dapibus pigroque sedili
Inter anus interque colos oneraverat, alvum.
Adsurgit tandem vocemque expromit anhelam:
"Quis novus hic torpor, socii? quonam usque sedemus
Femineis clausi thalamis patimurque periclum
Gliscere desidia? Graviorum turba malorum
Texitur, ignavis trahimus dum tempora votis.
Me petit hic sudor. Numquam mea dextera segnis
Ad ferrum. Faveat tantum Tritonia coeptis,
Inceptum peragetur opus. Iam cuncta furore
Qui gravat, efficiam leviorem pondere lanae
Tarbigilum tumidum, desertoresque Gruthungos
Ut miseras populabor oves et pace relata
Pristina restituam Phrygias ad stamina matres."[16]

The army advances, a confused, planless horde, and is speedily routed by the Goths. The mighty Leo, fleeing for his life, is too heavy a load for his horse, he is thrown into the mire (like the swine formerly butchered by his friend Hosius), and is at last scared to death by the rustling of the wind in the trees:

Ipse Leo damma cervoque fugacior ibat
Sudanti tremebundus equo: qui pondere postquam
Decidit, implicitus limo cunctantia pronus
Per vada reptabat. Caeno subnixa tenaci
Mergitur et pingui suspirat corpore moles
(More suis, dapibus quae iam devota futuris
Turpe gemit, quotiens Hosius mucrone corusco
Armatur cingitque sinus secumque volutat,
Quas figat verubus partes, quae frusta calenti
Mandet aquae quantoque cutem distendat echino:
Flagrat opus; crebro pulsatus perstrepit ictu;
Contexit varius penetrans Chalcedona nidor).
Ecce levis frondes a tergo concutit aura:
Credit tela Leo; valuit pro vulnere terror
Implevitque vicem iaculi vitamque nocentem

[16] An excellent example of the burlesque resulting from the mixture of epic style with a comic subject is to be seen in "*Emicat . . . crassa mole Leo.*"

Integer et sola formidine saucius efflat.
Quis tibi tractandos pro pectine, degener, enses,
Quis solio campum praeponere suasit avito?
Quam bene texentum laudabas carmina tutus
Et matutinis pellebas frigora mensis!
Hic miserande iaces; hic, dum tua vellera vitas,
Tandem fila tibi neverunt ultima Parcae.

Panic fills the city; there is no hope save in Stilicho; the scales fall from eyes of those who had so long obeyed Eutropius, and the lictors shudder at the thought of bearing the fasces of such a consul. Now Aurora, garbed in mourning, closes the book with a flattering appeal to Stilicho for aid, corresponding to the close of Book 1.

The *Praefatio* to Book 2, which Birt regards as really a third division of the poem as a whole, consists of seventy-six lines of elegiacs, and is not so much of a satirical nature as it is a song of triumph and exultation at the final disgrace and banishment to Cyprus of Eutropius. The poet, however, cannot refrain from a few sarcastic apostrophical remarks, as

Miror cur, aliis qui pandere fata solebas
Ad propriam cladem caeca Sibylla taces?
Iam tibi nulla videt fallax insomnia Nilus
Pervigilant vates nec, miserande, tui.
. . . . . .
Iam non Armenios iaculis terrebis et arcu,
Per campos volucrem non agitabis equum;
Dilecto caruit Byzantius ore senatus;
Curia consiliis aestuat orba tuis:
Emeritam suspende togam, suspende pharetram;
Ad Veneris partes ingeniumque redi. Etc.

Certain resemblances and differences between the *In Rufinum* and the *In Eutropium* deserve mention. Both poems are based on the same motive,—to satirize enemies of Stilicho, and the similarity is carried further by the fact that both the enemies held the same position, prime minister to the eastern Emperor. Occasion is found in both poems for the praise of Stilicho. The style of epic writing, also, is employed in both:

in both Mars views the scene from the snowy cliffs of Haemus, and talks with Bellona.

But there is a distinct difference in the tone of the two poems. The invective against Rufinus depends more on the epic element for effectiveness, and the style is more lofty and sustained. The satire is denunciation, never ridicule. There is no descent to burlesque or comedy. It is a serious piece of work, from the thoughtful and beautiful exordium to the impressive final damnation of the criminal.

With the satire against Eutropius the case is somewhat different. Plays upon words are frequent.[17] Eutropius is not presented as terrible, but as disgusting. The pompous manner of the epic narrative is often applied to trifles, which are really comical and ridiculous, such as the speech of Leo, and his flight after the battle. To put the matter in a nutshell we may use Claudian's own words:

> Exempla creantur
> Quae socci superent risus luctusque cothurni.[18]

Theodor Birt, in his careful analysis of the *In Eutropium*, finds many points of resemblance to Juvenal.[19] Eutropius as a *monstrum* finds precedent in Juvenal 4, 2, where the same epithet is applied to Crispinus. Juvenal's words, addressed to Mars,

> O pater urbis,
> Unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus? Unde
> Haec tetigit, Gradive, tuos urtica nepotes?
> Traditur ecce viro clarus genere atque opibus vir,
> Nec galeam quassas nec terram cuspide pulsas
> Nec quereris patri?[20]

are clearly reflected by Claudian's

> Subrisit crudele pater cristisque micantem
> Quassavit galeam; etc.[21]

[17] Cf. Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren des alten Rom*, 44, 45 n.

[18] *In Eutropium* 1, 298 f.

[19] *Zwei politische Satiren*, 52 ff. Cf. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 2, 286.

[20] Juvenal 2, 126–131.

[21] *In Eutropium* 2, 108–9.

and

> Tunc adamante gravem nodisque rigentibus hastam,
> Telum ingens nullique deo iaculabile torsit.
> Fit late ruptis via nubibus. Illa per auras
> Tot freta, tot montes uno contenta volatu
> Transilit et Phrygiae mediis affigitur arvis.
> Sensit humus. Gemuit Nysaeo palmite felix
> Hermus et aurata Pactolus inhorruit urna
> Totaque summissis fleverunt Dindyma silvis.[22]

What Juvenal suggests, Claudian amplifies.

And perhaps in the *In Eutropium*, 2, 329–334, we may see a resemblance to Juvenal, 1, 140–143. In fact, here, the epithet *longinquis piscibus* used in connection with the waters of the Propontis and the Maeotis, sounds somewhat exaggerated from the viewpoint of Constantinople, where the scene is laid, but quite natural from the viewpoint of a Roman satirist.[23]

Birt's arguments in favor of Claudian as an imitator of Lucilius may be thus summarized:

1. It was possible, for we know from other writers, e. g., Ausonius, that Lucilius was read in the fourth century.

2. Claudian's relation to Stilicho was similar to that of Lucilius to Scipio.[24]

3. Certain fragments in the 26th book of Lucilius may be taken to be parts of a satire dealing with the Numantian War. In this the Roman armies were at first defeated by a barbarian, as in Claudian the army of Leo was defeated by the Goths. Scipio's inefficient predecessor Lepidus is the counterpart of Eutropius, surrounded by eating and drinking satellites; his army is dispersed by the wind,—the wind which frightens Leo to death. Other passages seem to refer to some character quite like Eutropius in fitness only for humble and base offices.[25]

[22] *In Eutropium*, 2, 166–173.

[23] Cf. Juvenal, 4, 41 ff. For further discussion of similarities in thought or phrase the reader is referred to Birt, l. c.

[24] Horace, *Sermones*, II, 1, 16 f.

[25] Birt, *Zwei politische Satiren*, 112–123.

But this is mostly based on conjecture, and on a straining of coincidences in phraseology. No such satire on the Numantian War is recognized by Marx in his edition of Lucilius. In fact, Birt himself frankly admits that his evidence is scarcely sufficient to convince a reluctant reader.[26] It seems best to take the suggestion that Claudian followed a definite Lucilian model in writing the *In Eutropium* as merely a suggestion, and not an actual demonstrable fact.[27]

A passage of vivid satirical characterization of Gildo, the Count of Africa, is to be found in the unfinished poem *De Bello Gildonico*, part of the speech of Africa before the assembled gods, denouncing Gildo. His avarice, luxury, lust, insolence, and cruelty are dilated on in words comparable to those applied to Rufinus and Eutropius.

Quod Nilus et Atlas
Dissidet, occiduis quod Gadibus arida Barce
Quodque Paraetonio secedit litore Tingi,
Hoc sibi transcripsit proprium. Pars tertia mundi
Unius praedonis ager. Distantibus idem
Inter se vitiis cinctus: quodcumque profunda
Traxit avaritia, luxu peiore refundit.
Instat terribilis vivis, morientibus heres,
Virginibus raptor, thalamis obscenus adulter.
Nulla quies: oritur praeda cessante libido;
Divitibusque dies et nox metuenda maritis.
Quisquis vel locuples pulchra vel coniuge notus,
Crimine pulsatur falso; si crimina desunt,
Accitus conviva perit. Mors nulla refugit
Artificem: varios sucos spumasque requirit
Serpentum virides et adhuc ignota novercis
Gramina. Etc.

In the speech of Roma, in the same poem, there occurs in the midst of her complaints an ironical passage similar to *In Eutropium* 1, 210 ff.:

[26] Birt, p. 124.

[27] See Güthling, Bursians Jahresbericht, 76, 248 ff. Marx, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1888, 662. Stowasser, Zeitschrift für die oesterreichischen Gymnasien, XXXIX, 984. But also Jeep, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1890, 664.

Ideone tot annos
Flebile cum tumida bellum Carthagine gessi?
Idcirco voluit contempta luce reverti
Regulus? Hoc damnis, genitor, Cannensibus emi?
Incassum totiens lituis navalibus arsit
Hispanum Siculumque fretum vastataque tellus
Totque duces caesi ruptaque emissus ab Alpe
Poenus et attonitae iam proximus Hannibal urbi?
Scilicet ut domitis frueretur barbarus Afris,
Muro sustinui Martem noctesque cruentas
Collina pro turre tuli? Gildonis ad usum
Carthago ter victa ruit? Hoc mille gementis
Italiae clades impensaque saecula bello,
Hoc Fabius fortisque mihi Marcellus agebat,
Ut Gildo cumularet opes? Etc.

Claudian's minor poems include several examples of epigrammatic, pungently satirical writing. Such is one addressed to a critic of his verses who was afflicted with gout:

Quae tibi cum pedibus ratio? quid carmina culpas?
Scandere qui nescis, versiculos laceras?
"Claudicat hic versus; haec" inquit "syllaba nutat,"
Atque nihil prorsus stare putat podager.[28]

Of real Catullan wit is:

Manlius indulget somno noctesque diesque;
Insomnis Pharius sacra profana rapit.
Omnibus hoc, Italae gentes, exposcite votis,
Manlius ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.[29]

Carmina minora, 43 and 44, against a certain Curetius, dissolute son of a lying astrologer, which Birt[30] characterizes as "*satirici atque lascivientis generis*," are rather obscene than satirical.

[28] *Carmina minora*, 13.
[29] *Carmina minora*, 21.
[30] *Prolegomena*, lxi.

S. PAULINI EPIGRAMMA

THE poem which bears the above title was for a long time wrongly attributed to the rhetorician Claudius Marius Victor. Beyond the mere name Paulinus, there is no evidence as to the authorship. The date is set by Schenkl, from various historical allusions in the poem, at 408 A. D.[1] In any case, the author was a man of some poetical ability. Reminiscences of Vergil are frequent in his verses, which are constructed in a correct and pleasing manner. The dialogue form into which the content is thrown makes an attractive picture, and one could wish that the bell for evening prayer had not rung quite so soon, to break up the party.[2]

The poem describes a conversation between a young man, Salmon, an elderly, unnamed monk, and Thesbon, a neighbor. Salmon, who is apparently revisiting the monastery where he had been educated, is met by the old monk and escorted by him to the nearby dwelling of Thesbon, where, on a grassy seat in a shady spot, the three prepare to renew their former friendship.

The talk soon develops into a satire upon the moral defects of the times, upon the vices which are more dangerous than the barbarian invaders, upon a distorted sense of values, upon the pursuit of vain and unprofitable knowledge, upon the luxury, the excessive attention to personal appearance, and the frivolity, of the female sex, without at the same time exculpating men from blame.[3]

In answer to a question as to the state of affairs in the land,

[1] *Prooemium* to his edition of the text, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vol. XVI, 501.

[2] Manitius, *Geschichte*, 164 f. Ebert, *Geschichte*, 320 f.

[3] Ampere, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 2, 154.

Salmon replies, "We are oppressed by the attacks of the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and the Alans, yet there is another foe, more dangerous because more concealed. Alas, we seek to repair the devastation of our material goods, but pay no attention to our spiritual welfare. As we were, so we remain, nothing receives honor save riches, whatever seems to be to our advantage we consider right, and dignify the very vices with the names of good qualities."

Fuimus qui, nunc semper sumus isdem
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.
Qui prius in noctem prandebat, nunc quoque potans
Continuat soles nullo discrimine lychnis.
Moechus erat Pedius: moechatur, durat in isdem
Leprae dum fervis; livebat Polio: livet;
Albus, cunctorum quondam captator honorum,
Orbis in excidio minus ambitione laborat?
Nil sanctum nobis nisi quaestus et illud honestum est
Utile quod fuerit; vitiisque vocabula recti
Indimus et parci cognomen sumit avarus.[4]

Others, he adds, who would not yield to the attractions of open vice, are led away into vain pursuits which masquerade as virtues. They seek the causes of things, study the movements of the stars, and presumptuously pry into the secrets of the Almighty.

In reply to a suggestion that the faults of men are comparatively venial, while it is the "feminei furores" which make society what it is, Salmon breaks out into a sharp, contemptuous invective against the female sex. Yet all the while he admits the ultimate responsibility of men, in the attempt to please whom women have become what they are. They wear costly jewels, they paint their faces, they neglect the Bible for pagan love poems and theatrical shows.

[4] With verses 39–41 cf. Horace, *Epistles*, I, 1, 52–54; 65–66, and especially *Sermones*, I, 3, 49 ff., 55 ff., where the condition is the reverse, a man's failings being exaggerated. The pendulum has swung to the other extreme. Tolerance of faults is carried too far, and the overlooking of serious defects is as much to be condemned as the intolerance of venial ones.

Ante diem, Thesbon, tenebris nox umida condet
Quam possim mores huius percurrere turbae,
Quae, cum lege Dei vivant sub lege virorum
Pro pudor haud umquam sine nostro crimine peccant.
Nam nisi deliciis faciles traheremur earum,
Haut illas vitiis vellemus vivere nostris;
Nec rigidas auro vestes nec vellera Serum
Nec lapides, toto quos fert mercator ab orbe,
Fundorum pretiis emerent. Suspiria maesti
Iungimus et vanas non est pudor addere curas,
Si gravis ignotis processit Lesbia gemmis
Et decies Passiena novo radiavit in ostro.
Iam si mutatis studeant occurrere formis
Atque viris alios aliosque opponere vultus,
Nonne error noster? Quid agunt in corpore casto
Cerussa et minium centumque venena colorum?[5]
Mentis honor morumque decus sunt vincula sancti
Coniugii; si forma placet, venientibus annis
Cedet amor: sola est senium quae nescit honestas.
Iam quod perpetuis discursibus omnia lustrant
Quod pascunt, quod multa gerunt, quod multa locuntur,
Non vitium nostrum est? Paulo et Solomone relicto
Aut Maro cantatur Phoenissa aut Naso Corinna.
Nonne cavis distent penetralia nostra theatris?
Accipiunt plausus lyra Flacci et scaena Marulli.
Nos horum, nos causa sumus, nos turpiter istis
Nutrimenta damus flammis—culpetur honesti
Inproba nupta viri nummo decerpere nummum?—
Nam sicut speculo referunt accepta tenaci
Ingenio similes morisque exempla secuntur.
Cur solida infelix damnatur femina culpa,
Cum placeat stolido coniunx vitiosa marito?
Unus ubique hostis diffuso turbine saevit:
Nec mirum est vinci belli terrore subactos.

The satirical portion of the poem closes here. After a partly fragmentary passage, Salmon in his turn inquires about local affairs, but is prevented from receiving a reply by the approach of the hour for evening worship, and so the poem ends.

It is worthy of notice that the poet names definite persons as examples of qualities which he censures. E. g., v. 35

[5] Cf. Hieronymus, Epistle 54, 7—*Quid facit in facie Christianae purpurissus et cerussa?*

"Pedius;" v. 36 "Polio;" v. 37 "Albus;" v. 65 "Lesbia;" v. 66 "Passiena." This is the method of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, as in Horace, *Sermones*, I, 4, 109 ff. (which includes "Albi filius"), I, 1, 101–2, etc.; as in Persius, 1, 85 (Pedius); 2, 14; 2, 19, etc.; as in Juvenal, 6, 387; 7, 176 (Polio); 2, 36; 2, 68, etc.

ORIENTIUS

THE *Commonitorium* of Orientius is an elegiac poem in two book, of 618 and 418 verses respectively,[1] written in southern France not long after the barbarian invasions of 406 A. D.[2] The author is probably identical with the Bishop Orientius of Auch.[3]

The poem is, as its name implies, a book of advice, instruction, and warning, written in a tone of high seriousness and by an elderly man who considered himself well qualified to speak.[4] The style is somewhat discursive, yet sincere and comparatively free from artificialities. The author is addressing, in general, a single hypothetical reader, to whom he directs his advice and admonitions.[5]

His tone is usually a temperate, kindly, didactic tone. In many cases he expounds at length the course that the true Christian should follow, or says merely, "Such and such a habit is bad; avoid it." E. g.,

2, 41 Fallere crede nefas! durat sententia dicens:
Os, quod mentitur, morte animum perimit.

[1] The elegiac couplet, as well as the straightforward hexameter verse of Vergil's *Georgics* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*, had been already used as a form for didactic poetry,—e. g. Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, etc. The employment of this verse for this purpose can probably be traced ultimately to the gnomic poetry of the Greeks, with its inculcation of maxims and aphorisms.

[2] Robinson Ellis, *Praefatio* to his edition of the text in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 16, 193 f. Ebert, *Geschichte*, 410, note 2, sets the date of composition at 430.

[3] Manitius, *Geschichte*, 193. *Histoire Literaire de la France*, 2, 251 ff.

[4] *Commonitorium*, 1, 405–6. Ebert, *Geschichte*, 410.

[5] E. g. 1, 15–16:

Ergo, age, da pronas aures sensumque vacantem:
Vita docenda mihi est, vita petenda tibi.

and 2, 1

Si monitis gradiare meis, fidissime lector, etc.

Et quod erit verax semper dixisse memento,
Et non quod non est sermo tuus resonet.

But we shall see that also, in other cases, when discussing vices, the poet adopts a satirical point of view and makes use of a satirical style. He forgets, apparently, whom he is supposed to be really talking to, and provides himself with a fictitious opponent, in order to give his arguments added concreteness and vividness.[6]

In Book 1, 483 ff., Orientius dwells on that favorite topic of ancient moralists, the greed of gain. Everywhere, he says, prevails this root, cause, head, fount, and origin of evil. It leads men to pervert the gifts of God, and to brave the perils of the dreadful sea.

Nec cura leviore dehinc vitare memento
Unius innumerum crimen avaritiae.
Omnibus in terris, quas sol videt, aequora claudunt,
Quasque dies adeunt, quasque tegunt tenebrae,
Ignoto nobis quidquid diffunditur orbe,
Omnibus in regnis, omnibus in populis,
Infectis morbo multorum mentibus haec est
Radix causa caput fons et origo mali.
Innocuos quidquid Dominus formarat in usus,
Haec male mutatis perdidit officiis.[7]
Quid quereris diros portus ventosque furentes,
Tristis famosis aequora naufragiis?[8]

The love of gold, he continues, leads to any crime. Why not be satisfied with what is really enough? Does drink from a jeweled cup satisfy thirst more than from the palm of the hand, or food taste better from a crystal dish than from a

[6] E. g. 1, 337 ff., 535; 2, 62, etc.' Sometimes in the plural, as, 1, 501, avari. Cf. Tertullian, *De Pallio*, above, p. 20; Ambrosius, *De Nabuthae*, above, p. 81. This is the same stylistic device which appears so frequently in writers like Horace, for instance, who will begin a poem by addressing Maecenas, and later bring in a *tu* or a *te* which does not refer to Maecenas at all, or indeed to any definite personality.

[7] Cf. Prudentius, *Hamartigenia*, 306 f.

Perversum ius omne viget dum quicquid habendum
Omnipotens dederat studia in contraria vertunt.

[8] Cf. Ambrosius, *De Helia et Ieiunio*, 19, 71, above, p. 77, and references.

common plate?[9] This naturally leads to a reflection on the vanity of worldly goods, resembling that of Ambrosius, *De Nabuthae*, 1, 2.

In Book 2, 13 ff., Orientius condemns the tendency of the time toward lax moral standards and the too ready condoning of faults:

Praecipuus labor est blandam contemnere laudem,
  Quae trahit in praeceps ambitiosa homines,
Et semper tacito festinat ad intima motu
  Visceribusque ipsis pestis acerba sedet.
Omnia dum volumus, facimus quaecumque, probari,
  Utque suis nullus non faveat vitiis,
Lenito titulo parcum se dicit avarus,
  Acris velatur nomine saevitia,
Ac studiis totis et tota nitimur arte,
  Ut quidquid loquimur vel facimus placeat.[10]

In Book 2, 93 ff., there is a satirical picture of the kind of life a person has to lead who seeks favor or advancement at the hands of the rich and great. How shall he gain his ends? He must be prepared to suffer rain, cold, hunger, and blows. He must run about all over the city till late at night. Even so he must arise again at early dawn, to wait for the opening of his patron's door. And if even the hard stone benches are powerless to keep him awake, he may be forestalled in his entry by a rival who has come later than he. Or perchance he may be driven away by a lictor. Then let him pray that he may escape with a whole skin. Or suppose that by bribing the doorkeeper he gains admittance. What will his smooth words and servile bearing advantage him? Money alone is the key to success. He who offers words will receive empty words in return. Or even suppose that one attains office, and the year is distinguished by his name,—'tis a brief period at best, and in the crowd of those who hurry to succeed him he is soon forgotten.

[9] The old Stoic-Cynic doctrine. Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, I, 1, 49 ff. Paulinus Nolanus, XXXII, 42 ff.

[10] Cf. *S. Paulini Epigramma* 41—*parci cognomen sumit avarus*, with note; above, p. 122.

An tibi si fragiles mundi quaerantur honores,
Munere quo speres emeruisse hominem?
Quidquid id est variis quod vexat corpora saevis,
Dum celeri vitam currimus in stadio:
Contemptum pluvias frigus ieiunia rixas
Contento poteris sustinuisse animo,
Discurrens urbem totis lustrare diebus
Vix media fessus nocte radire domum,
Continuoque iterum prima consurgere luce
Ut clausas possis primus adire fores.
Et cum te tenuis per dura sedilia somnus
Compulerit fessum deposuisse caput,
Ille prior forsan qui serior adfuit ibit,
At tua pulsabit stulta querella notos.
Aut si lictorem tanget vox clarior, opta
Ut bene submotus nec male caesus eas.
Sed fac quod rarum est, ut victus ianitor auro
Ac precibus tandem dicat "adire potes."
Ingrederis lingua blandus vultuque modestus,
Corpore subiectus: nil tamen ista iuvant.
Omnis honor pretii est: ibis pro pondere numi
Carta seu foliis sive petes tabulis.
Nam si cessarit dives manus, irrita res est,
Et si verba dabis, tu quoque verba feres. Etc.

The satirical tone of this passage is especially distinct. We are at once reminded of similar descriptions in Juvenal (5, 19 ff.), and Martial (5, 22), while Orientius' "*omnis honor pretii est*" is an echo of Juvenal's "*omnia Romae cum pretio*" (3, 183). Such a passage as this is more or less conventional, and is not entirely in harmony with the general character of the work as "a spiritual testament left to his parish by an old and wise priest."[11] A little parish in the south of France during the barbarian invasions would have small need of such advice. The picture corresponds more to conditions in the capital city, with its references to "*urbem*" (99) and "*lictorem*" (107) and consulships.

[11] Manitius, *Geschichte*, 199.

RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS

One of the most interesting poets of the late Roman period is Claudius Rutilius Namatianus, whose two books of elegiac verses, *De Reditu Suo*, survive unfortunately only in a mutilated form. The date of composition is fixed at A. U. C. 1169=416 A. D. by I, 135 f.,—

> Quamvis sedecies denis et mille peractis
> Annus praeterea iam tibi nonus eat.

The writer was a native of Gaul (I, 20), but had held the offices of *magister officiis* (I, 563) and prefect of the city (I, 157 ff.) at Rome. Whether he was a pagan, as has been inferred from various references to Christian monks, or an unorthodox Christian[1] is not a question of great importance.

The journey described in the poem was that from Rome to Gaul, made for the sake of examining, and taking steps to repair, the damage done by the Goths to the poet's property. Were the conclusion of the poem extant, we might be able to locate this with some certainty, but as it is, we are not. The journey was a leisurely one, by sea along the Italian coast, as the recent devastation of Tuscany had rendered land travel inconvenient and difficult.

The poem is in the main a delightful, idyllic description of the events of the journey; the varying weather, the historical localities observed, the frequent halts made, friends met, diversions enjoyed, etc. Through the whole poem, expressed at length, in fact, near the beginning, breathes a spirit of intense affection for and loyalty to the city of Rome and her ancient institutions, and of faith in her ability to survive the

[1] The possibility of this, although his argument is not entirely convincing, was pointed out by H. Schenkl in the Rheinisches Museum, 66 (1911), 393 ff.

shocks of barbarian invasion and remain the mistress of the world.

The claim of the poem to be "half satire"[2] arises partly from the resemblance of its theme to the journeyings which furnished both Lucilius and Horace with material for satires, and partly from a number of comments or digressions of a satirical character, ranging from a comparison of gold with iron to a scornful characterization of the Christian monks, and a bitter denunciation of Stilicho. These satirical passages are entirely casual, being suggested by some place seen, or experience met with, in the course of the journey.

In one of these passages Rutilius holds up to execration the family of the Lepidi, who throughout the centuries had won an evil fame by rebellions and crimes. The poet is not sure whether character is transmitted with family name, or whether by some strange fatality the same name should chance to have become identified with a certain character:

Inter castrorum vestigia sermo retexit
Sardoam Lepido praecipitante fugam.
Littore namque Cosae cognatos depulit hostes
Virtutem Catuli Roma secuta ducis.
Ille tamen Lepidus peior civilibus armis,
Qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus
Qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam
Obruit auxiliis urbe pavente novis.
Insidias paci moliri tertius ausus
Tristibus excepit congrua fata reis.
Quartus, Caesareo dum vult irrepere regno,
Incesti poenam solvit adulterii.
Nunc quoque—sed melius de nostris fama queretur;
Index posteritas semina dira notet!
Nominibus certos credam decurrere mores?
Moribus an potius nomina certa dari?
Quidquid id est, mirus Latiis annalibus ordo,
Quod Lepidum totiens recidit ense malum.

The sight of Ilva, famous for its mines, gives occasion for a

[2] Baumgartner, *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker*, 191.

satirical, philosophical reflection on the real worthlessness of gold, and the crimes it has caused:

Plus confert populis ferri fecunda creatrix
Quam Tartesiaci glarea fulva Tagi.
Materies vitiis aurum letale parandis:
Auri caecus amor ducit in omne nefas.
Aurea legitimas expugnant munera taedas,
Virgineosque sinus aureus imber emit.
Auro victa fides munitas decipit urbes,
Auri flagitiis ambitus ipse furit.
At contra ferro squalentia rura coluntur;
Ferro vivendi prima reperta via est.
Secula semideum ferrati nescia Martis
Ferro crudeles sustinuisse feras.
Humanis manibus non sufficit usus inermis,
Si non sint aliae ferrea tela manus.
His mecum pigri solabar taedia venti
Dum resonat variis vile celeuma modis.[3]

The excessive watchfulness of a Jewish caretaker, who considered that the travellers were damaging property, causes Rutilius to utter an extremely bitter tirade against the Jews, their customs and religion, closing with the heartfelt wish that Titus had never taken Jerusalem and disseminated such a pest upon the world:

Namque loci querulus curam Iudaeus agebat,
Humanis animal dissociale cibis.
Vexatos frutices, pulsatas imputat algas,
Damnaque libatae grandia clamat aquae.
Reddimus obscenae convicia debita genti,
Quae genitale caput propudiosa metit.
Radix stultitiae, cui frigida sabbata cordi,
Sed cor frigidius religione sua!
Septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno,

[3] Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, 3, 56 f.

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!

Horace, *Carmina*, III, 24, 48 f.,

aurum et inutile
Summi materiem mali,

Prudentius, *Hamartigenia*, 258.

Inde seges scelerum radix et sola malorum.

Tanquam lassati mollis imago dei.
Cetera mendacis deliramenta catastae
Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.
Atque utinam nunquam Iudaea subacta fuisset
Pompeii bellis imperioque Titi!
Latius excisae pestis contagia serpunt,
Victoresque suos natio victa premit.[4]

Passing the island of Capraria, Rutilius gives vent to his scorn of the monks, a settlement of whom is located there. They shun the light, and wish to live alone. What perverse folly, to make oneself miserable through fear of being so! Perhaps they are suffering some destined punishment: perhaps they are afflicted with an excess of bile, like Bellerophon.

Processu pelagi iam se Capraria tollit;
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.
Munera fortunae metuunt, dum damna verentur.
Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat?
Quaenam perversi rabies tam stulta cerebri,
Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati?
Sive suas repetunt fatorum ergastula poenas
Tristia seu nigro viscera felle tument.
Sic nimiae bilis morbum assignavit Homerus
Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus.
Nam iuveni offenso saevi post tela doloris
Dicitur humanum displicuisse genus.

Another outbreak against the monks occurs on passing the isle of Gorgon. Here a promising young man, of good family and prospects, a friend of Rutilius, had immured himself in monastic life. To Rutilius this was nothing less than a catastrophe, and he mingles his pity for the misguided youth with severe scorn of the tribe of monks:

Assurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon,
Inter Pisanum Cyraicumque latus.
Adversus scopulus damni monumenta recentis:
Perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.
Noster enim nuper iuvenis, maioribus amplis,

[4] Cf. Juvenal, 14, 96 ff. Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 156. See Vessereau's edition of Rutilius, p. 289 ff.

Nec censu inferior coniugiove minor,
Impulsus furiis homines terrasque reliquit,
Et turpem latebram credulus exul agit.
Infelix putat illuvie caelestia pasci,
Seque premit laesis saevior ipse deis.
Num, rogo, deterior Circeis secta venenis?
Tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

And finally we have in Book 2, 41 ff., a bitter attack on Stilicho as betrayer of his country, in treating with the Goths, and in burning the ancient Sibylline books; ascribing to him the motive of desiring to "survive the Roman nation." Such a crime was worse than the crimes of Althea or Nisus, worse than the matricide of Nero, for he slew only his own mother, while Stilicho attacked the mother of the world. Speaking first of the way in which the natural advantages of Italy seem to insure it against invasion, he goes on:

Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
Proditor arcani quod fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor,
Dumque timet quidquid se fecerat ipse timeri,
Immisit Latiae barbara tela neci.
Visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem,
Illatae cladis liberiore dolo.
Ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat,
Et captiva, prius quam caperetur, erat.
Nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis;
Ante Sibyllinae fata cremavit opis.
Odimus Altheam consumpti funere torris;
Niseum crinem flere putantur aves.
At Stilicho aeterni fatalia pignora regni
Et plenas voluit praecipitare colos.
Omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis;
Consumat Stygias tristior umbra faces.
Hic immortalem, mortalem perculit ille;
Hic mundi matrem, perculit ille suam.[5]

Resemblance of the *De Reditu Suo* to Horace's description of his journey to Brundisium is not very close. There are, it is true, some external points of similarity. Both narrate a

[5] Cf. Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2, 512 ff.

journey, and tell us their route, mention experiences and diversions met with, refer to friends, etc. There is also some Horatian reminiscence in Rutilius, 1, 491 ff.,—

O quam saepe malis generatur origo bonorum!
Tempestas dulcem fecit amara moram.
Victorinus enim, nostrae pars maxima mentis[6]
Congressu explevit mutua vota suo.

. . . . . .

Hunc ego complexus ventorum adversa fefelli,
Dum videor patriae iam mihi parte frui.

But Rutilius' style is more serious and lofty than Horace's. He is prone to reflect on the greatness of the past and on problems of the present, in a way alien to the rapid, easy tale of the journey to Brundisium. Horace wrote in a more humorous, intimate, everyday manner. The lines of burlesque epic or dramatic style[7] which we find scattered through his satire have no counterpart in Rutilius. He does not indulge in the long descriptions or thoughtful, erudite allusions, so frequent in Rutilius.[8] We may say, in general, that while the travel satires of Lucilius and Horace may have furnished Rutilius a hint and a suggestion for the composition of his own poem, he was far from imitating them in style.

[6] Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, I, 5, 39 ff., also *Carmina*, I, 3, 8 *animae dimidium meae.*

[7] 9, 10; 24, 51 ff.; 73–4; etc.

[8] Vessereau, 326.

LUCILLUS

LUCILLUS, about 400 A. D., is known to us only from a reference by Rutilius Namatianus in his poem *De Reditu Suo*. He appears to have held some political administrative office[1] and to have won praise for his strict integrity in managing public affairs. Besides this he was a satirist, one whom Rutilius deems worthy to compare with Turnus and Juvenal:

Huius vulnificis satira ludente Camenis
Nec Turnus potior, nec Iuvenalis erit.
Restituit veterem censoria lima pudorem
Dumque malos carpit, praecipit esse bonos.

We may judge from this that his satire was Juvenalian in style—*vulnificis Camenis;* but that also he was a constructive critic of his fellow men, not only indicating their faults, but instructing them by moral precepts to live rightly.[2]

[1] *De Reditu Suo*, 1, 612 ff.

[2] Vessereau, *Claudius Rutilius Namatianus*, p. 248 ff. Ribbeck, *Geschichte der römischen Dichtung*, 3, 368.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS

C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, "the most interesting literary figure of the fifth century," was born about 430, at Lyons. He was of a family occupying a high social position, and himself held both secular and ecclesiastical offices of importance. He was "*praefectus urbis*," and later Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand. The date of his death is not fixed with certainty, but seems to have been in the 480's.[1] Sidonius was an ardent devotee of literature and rhetoric. His poems contain many classical, mythological allusions, and his letters were written with the letters of Pliny the Younger and Symmachus in mind as models. Although a Christian, he preserved largely the classical pagan atmosphere about his writings.

In one of his letters,[2] Sidonius tells the story of a satire, and the excitement it caused, that is worth recounting somewhat in detail. It was at Arles, "*temporibus Augusti Maioriani*" (457–461). There suddenly appeared an anonymous writing, full of biting satirical verses, which did not indeed mention any names, but severely attacked vices, and, even more, individuals. The allusions were so evident, in fact, that certain men were angered by them, and took the lead in attempting to discover the author. One Catullinus passed through the city, on a return from a visit to his friend Sidonius, and on hearing portions of the poem, showed so much amusement that it was inferred that he must be familiar with the whole; hence, that Sidonius must have been the author and have read it to him, previously. Consequently, when Sidonius

[1] Ebert, *Geschichte*, 421 note. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, 3, 317 note.

[2] Book 1, Epistle 11.

next appeared at Arles, he was saluted with unusual fervor by some, treated coldly by others, and openly avoided by still others. On inquiry he discovered that he was accused of being a satirist. In astonishment he asked if the verses had appeared in his handwriting; if not, it was a little early to condemn him.

The next day the Emperor gave a banquet, and the guests included both Sidonius and Paeonius, the person hardest hit by the anonymus satirist. During the conversation so much friction was apparent between Paeonius and others that someone remarked, "Gentlemen, your squabbles give a fine opening for some satirist."

On this Maiorianus, turning to Sidonius, said, "I hear, Count Sidonius, that you are writing satire."

"I hear so too, my lord," replied Sidonius.

"Well," said the Emperor, "I hope you will spare me."

"I spare myself," said Sidonius, "when I refrain from what is forbidden."

"And what shall we do," queried the Emperor then, "with those who molest you?"

Sidonius answered, "My lord Emperor, let my accuser, whoever he may be, accuse me publicly. If he proves his charge, I am ready to pay the penalty; but if he fails (as he probably will) to make good his case, then may I be permitted to write what I like against him."

Paeonius, though uneasy, dared raise no objection to this, and the Emperor consented, stipulating only that Sidonius should at once, extemporaneously, make his request in verse. This he did, to this effect:

> Scribere me satiram qui culpet, maxime princeps,
> Hanc rogo decernans aut probet aut timeat.

The Emperor then formally gave Sidonius carte blanche for his writings, remarking that he did not approve of such accusations being brought against innocent noblemen by private enemies.

When the dinner broke up, Paeonius, completely crushed, came to Sidonius and humbly besought him to pardon his offence and not write a satire about him, which Sidonius graciously promised not to do, and so the episode ended, to the complete glory of Sidonius and the discomfiture of his enemies.

It is a matter of regret that this famous satire is lost to us. But the story shows its general nature fairly clearly, and Hodgkin[3] is undoubtedly right in saying that Sidonius was most probably the author of it, after all. He implies the contrary, it is true, and affects to consider it a most unjust charge, but the very exaggeration of this attitude, of the astonishment which he professed to feel, the general tone of quiet enjoyment and satisfaction at the situation pervading the whole letter, together with his attitude toward Paeonius, shown in his résumé of the latter's career, all tend to show that he was really the author, though he would not own up to it. Certainly there is much more spice in the affair, if we adopt this view, than otherwise.

We know too that Sidonius could be satirical, if he felt so inclined. Carmen XII, of his poems, is a satire on the Burgundians with whom he was thrown in contact, in spite of his modest disavowal of such a title for his verses, in the last line. This was addressed to his friend Catullinus, the same who appeared in the story above related. Mr. Hodgkin's verse rendering[4] reproduces admirably the spirit of the original, which is in the hendecasyllabic meter:

> Ah me, my friend, why bid me, e'en if I had the power,
> To write the light Fescennine verse, fit for the nuptial bower?
> Do you forget that I am set among the long-haired hordes,
> That daily I am bound to bear the stream of German words,
> That I must hear, and then must praise with sorrowful grimace
> (Disgust and approbation both contending in my face),
> Whate'er the gormandizing sons of Burgundy may sing,

[3] *Italy and her Invaders*, 3, 415.
[4] *Italy and her Invaders*, 3, 363.

While they upon their yellow hair the rancid butter fling?
Now let me tell you what it is that makes my lyre be dumb:
It cannot sound when all around barbarian lyres do hum.
The sight of all those patrons tall (each one is seven foot high),
From my poor Muse makes every thought of six-foot meters fly.
Oh! happy are thine eyes, my friend: thine ears, how happy those!
And oh! thrice happy I would call thine undisgusted nose.
'Tis not round thee that every morn ten talkative machines
Exhale the smell of onions, leeks, and all their vulgar greens.
There do not seek thy house, as mine, before the dawn of day,
So many giants and so tall, so fond of trencher-play
That scarce Alcinous himself, that hospitable king,
Would find his kitchen large enough for the desires they bring.
They do not, those effusive souls, declare they look on thee
As father's friend or foster-sire—but alas! they do on me.
But stop, my Muse! pull up! be still! or else some fool will say
"Sidonius writes lampoons again." Don't you believe them, pray!

The original is as follows:

Quid me, etsi valeam, parare carmen
Fescenninicolae iubes Diones
Inter crinigeras situm catervas
Et Germanica verba sustinentem,
Laudantem tetrico subinde vultu
Quod Burgundio cantat esculentus,
Infundens acido comam butyro?
Vis dicam tibi, quid poema frangat?
Ex hoc barbaricis abacta plectris
Spernit senipedem stilum Thalia,
Ex quo septipedes videt patronos.
Felices oculos tuos et aures
Felicemque libet vocare nasum,
Cui non allia sordidaeque caepae
Ructant mane novo decem apparatus
Quem non ut vetulum patris parentem
Nutricisque virum die nec orto
Tot tantique petunt simul Gigantes
Quot vix Alcinoi culina ferret.
Sed iam Musa tacet tenetque habenas
Paucis hendecasyllabis iocata,
Ne quisquam satiram vel hos vocaret.

SECUNDINUS

From a letter of Apollinaris Sidonius,[1] addressed to his friend Secundinus, we learn that the latter was a writer of satirical verses. Sidonius refers first to certain hexameter poems written by him, which, however, dealt with pleasant subjects, being marriage hymns, descriptions of royal hunts, etc. But recently Secundinus had written a different sort of poem. In form it seems to have been an alternation of verses consisting of three trochees with hendecasyllabic verses—*triplicibus trochaeis nuper in metrum hendecasyllabum compaginatis*. These verses were full of spice, wit, and sarcasm, but the author was apparently handicapped in the exertion of his full powers by the fact that he was satirizing actual personalities of the day. Sidonius compares with Secundinus' verses a veiled hit at the Emperor Constantine composed by the consul Ablabius, and affixed to the gates of the Palatine:

> Saturni aurea saecla quis requirat?
> Sunt haec gemmea, sed Neroniana.

For at that time, he says, Constantine was suspected of having caused the death of his wife Fausta and his son Crispus.

Sidonius tells us nothing more definite about this satire of Secundinus, but urges him to continue to devote his energy to that branch of writing. He can find plenty of material in the vices of the rulers of the state. From these references it has been conjectured[2] that the object of Secundinus' satire may have been Gundobad, king of Burgundy from 478 to 516.

[1] Book 5, Epistle 8.

[2] *Histoire Litteraire*, 2, 503.

LAMPRIDIUS

Apollinaris Sidonius, in a letter to his friend Lupus,[1] makes us acquainted with Lampridius, who seems to have been a literary man of some versatility. It was shortly after the death of Lampridius—he had been murdered in his own house by a band of robbers—that the letter was written, and in it Sidonius comments at some length on his dead friend's character, and literary work. He wrote, it seems, all kinds of poetry—epic, lyric, bucolic, georgic, tragedy and comedy as well, and also satires and declamatory orations.[2]

[2] "Arpinas modo quem (i. e. Lampridius) tonante lingua
Ditat, nunc stilus aut Maronianus
Aut quo tu Latium beas, Horati,
Alcaeo melior lyristes ipso,
Et nunc inflat epos tragoediarum
Nunc comoedia temperat iocosa
Nunc flammant satirae et tyrannicarum
Declamatio controversiarum. §3.

Sidonius praises his ability as a writer: he was keen and polished in his rhetoric, exact and fluent in his versification, "*in materia controversiali fortis et lacertosus; in satirica sollicitus et mordax; in tragica saevus et flebilis; in comica urbanus multiformisque; in fescennina vernans verbis, aestuans votis; in bucolica vigilax parcus carminabundus; in georgica sic rusticans multum, quod nihil rusticus.*"[3]

It is obvious that from all this rather extravagant praise we can disentangle no real clue as to the nature of the satirical works referred to. It is fair to infer that they were in verse form[4] but we cannot prove anything about the subject matter:

[1] Book 8, Epistle 11.

[3] §6.

[4] Because Sidonius divides his works into *orationes* and *poemata*, §5.

whether he was satirizing definite, concrete, contemporary evils, or more general, long-standing failings of mankind, such as avarice. But the wide range of his poetical activity, coupled with his reverence for ancient models[5] makes it probable that his satires were not due to his own personal *ira et studium*, but were a product of a desire to try his hand at all sorts of literary categories. In this case their subject matter would more likely have been general and universal than concrete and particular.

[5] §8.

SALVIANUS

THE exact dates for the life of Salvianus cannot be told with certainty. He seems to have been born, however, between the years 400 and 405, and it is known that he was still living when Gennadius wrote his *De Viris Illustribus*, not later than 496.[1] Thus the span of his life may be taken to coincide roughly with the fifth century of our era. He was born at Treves,[2] married, but afterwards embraced an ascetic life, like Paulinus of Nola, and was long a resident of a monastery, probably at Lerius. Later he went to Marseilles, became a priest, and it was there that he produced his various literary works.

The longest and most important of the extant writings of Salvianus is the *De Gubernatione Dei*, in eight books, of which the last is unfinished. This work was written "to justify the ways of God to man."[3] That is, it was written to combat a view gaining ground in the middle of the fifth century, that the value of Christianity was a sham, since the Roman world, when pagan, had been strong, prosperous, and happy, while now, after the universal adoption of the Christian religion, it was being overrun by barbarians and suffering all kinds of troubles. How was this indisputable fact to be explained? queried the doubters. It must be that a great mistake had been made: it could not be true that God takes an interest in and actively directs the course of human affairs.

To this Salvianus replies that most people are only sham Christians, that the Roman world in general is absolutely and thoroughly corrupt and depraved, so that its misfortunes

[1] Chapter 68: *vivit usque hodie in senectute bona.*

[2] ? Cf. *De Gubernatione Dei*, 6, 13, 72.

[3] Ampere, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 2, 169.

are nothing more than a just punishment for its sins; and that man, having deliberately neglected and disobeyed the mandates of God, has no ground for complaint that God has neglected him.

Such a treatment of such a theme naturally affords to a skilful and earnest writer many opportunities for vivid pictures of contemporary manners and morals,—pictures which are often as vivid in their coloring as those of Juvenal[4] and which, if trustworthy,[5] furnish an invaluable source for the study of social conditions under the late Roman Empire. There is, as might be expected, since the author is a theologian, much reliance on citations from the Scriptures, and the work is dominated throughout by the half-dialogue style which continually introduces possible objections, questions, and counter-arguments with an *inquis*, and is fond of expressing itself as much by rhetorical questions as by positive statements. Whatever may have been the depth of Salvianus' feeling, he was unable to put it into words with the force and eloquence of an Ambrose or a Jerome. The effectiveness of his denunciations is weakened by the prolixity of his style.[6]

But in spite of this it will be worth our while to examine some of the pictures of social and moral corruption which Salvianus draws, to observe his choice of topics, his manner of treatment, and to see in what way, and to what extent, his style may be classed as satirical. His descriptions are at least lively and detailed. "The sharpest word was not too sharp for him, to characterize the Christian world in general

[4] Norden, *Die Lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, VIII, 3d ed., p. 510.

[5] A matter open to question, to say the least. Salvianus' tendency to sweeping general statements leads one to fear that he may be exaggerating. Cf. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 2, 477, 489, and Archer in the Encyclopeda Britannica, 11th ed., s. v. Salvian.

[6] A fact which Salvianus himself realizes: *Arbitror, immo certus sum fastidiosam plurimis stili huius prolixitatem fore*, etc. Book 8, init. Cf. Ebert, *Geschichte*, 464.

as a cesspool of vices."[7] He makes no distinctions of nationality, social position, or occupation. Salvianus may have been "a fifth century socialist," as he has been called,[8] but his satire is not directed against any class of society in particular. Rich and poor, clergy and laity, nobility and slaves, whether in Gaul, Spain, or Africa, receive equally severe denunciation from his fluent pen. Society in general is afflicted. Avarice and drunkenness are mentioned as "those two especial and wide-spread evils,"[9] Never did there exist a Roman state free from fraud, deceit, and perjury.[10]

With bitterest sarcasm he points out how great is man's failure to obey the injunctions of the Saviour. "We are so far from giving up the other things along with our tunics that, if we can by any possible means, we will take away from our enemy both his tunic and his pallium. For so devotedly do we obey the mandates of the Lord, that it is not enough for us not to yield to our adversaries even in respect to the smallest part of our raiment, unless, as far as in us lies, if conditions allow, we wrest everything from them. . . . Or where is there anyone, who, if he received one blow, would not return many for the one? . . . So far are we from doing good to others with inconvenience for ourselves, that we all, for the most part, measure our own benefits by the disadvantages involved to other people."[11]

"You will more easily find men who swear falsely, and more of them," says Salvianus, "than men who 'swear not at all'."[12] "Where are those who love their enemies, who do good to them that persecute them, who overcome evil with

[7] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 1, 67. Also *Histoire Littéraire*, 2, 530; Ampere, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 2, 170; Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 2, 480.

[8] Archer.

[9] 6, 13.

[10] 7, 15.

[11] 3, 6.

[12] 3, 8.

good, who turn the other cheek, who yield their goods without a struggle to the plunderer? . . . For indeed, with all our zeal, and all our strength, not only do we not do as we are bidden, but even we do the opposite of what we are bidden. For God bids that we should all be charitable one to another: we injure each other with mutual hostility. God bids that all men should give their goods to the poor: they actually attack the property of others. God bids that everyone who is a Christian should keep even his glances pure: where is there one who does not involve himself in the mire of fornication?"[13]

"The very barbarians, in the same nation, at least, live at peace among themselves: almost all Romans persecute each other. For what citizen is not envious of his fellow? Who displays the fullness of charity to his neighbor? . . . Who is as near in heart as he is by blood, who is not on fire with the lurid flames of ill-will, whose spirit is not dominated by rancor, to whom is another's prosperity not a torture? Who does not regard another's advantage as his own disadvantage?[14] Who is so satisfied with his own happiness that he is willing another should be happy? A new and monstrous evil is abroad: it is a small matter to one if he himself is happy, unless his neighbor is unhappy."[15]

Even in its present perilous and miserable state the Roman world is reckless and wicked. Vice does not require a soil of peace and security in which to flourish. In the impending wrack and ruin vice and crime alone are unharmed. "Who thinks of the circus when a life of slavery is staring him in the face, who laughs while fearing death? We make sport while in fear of captivity, and placed under the dread of death we laugh. You would think the whole Roman people had in some way become affected by the Sardinian herbs;

[13] 3, 9.

[14] *Quis non bonum alterius malum suum credit?* Cf. Ambrosius, *De Nabuthae*, 3, 11: *damnum vestrum creditis quicquid alienum est.*

[15] 5, 4.

death and laughter go hand in hand. And so in almost all parts of the world tears follow close after our laughter, and there comes upon us even now that word of our Lord 'Woe to ye who laugh, for ye shall weep'."[16]

Concrete and localized examples are drawn from the conditions prevailing in various cities of Gaul on the eve of their capture by the barbarians. In Treves, and in Cologne[17] depravity and wickedness had reached such a point that these cities might be said to have perished, for all practical purposes, before the invaders captured them. "The leaders of the state reclined at feasts, forgetful of honor, forgetful of age, forgetful of vocation, forgetful of their own names, gorged with food and dissolved in wine, with mad shouts and furious revelry,—nothing less than their senses, nay, since they were almost always in that state, their senses were less than nothing.[18] . . . "Was not this the same ruin equally of material goods and character? For omitting the other things, since everything had fallen a victim to the two vices of avarice and drunkenness (especial and universal in that place), to such an extent finally did they carry their mad greed for wine, that the chiefs of the city did not even arise from their banquets when the enemy were actually entering. . . . I saw there lamentable things: there was nothing to choose between the young and the old. There was the same vulgarity, the same frivolity; everything at the same time—luxury and drinking and ruin; everybody was equally engaged in sport, and drunkenness, and adultery: men full of years and honors gave themselves up to wantonness at the banquets, almost too weak to retain life, but very mighty toward the wine, infirm for walking, but powerful for drinking, swaying and trembling in their steps, but masters of the dance."[19]

[16] Luke, 6, 25. 7, 1, 6.

[17] The cities are not named, but have been so identified.

[18] 6, 13, 74.

[19] 6, 13, 77–8. With the thought of the last sentence cf. Juvenal, 6, 95 ff., where also circumstances alter cases.

Salvianus refutes the objection that possibly the bulk of the wickedness of the world may be confined to the lower classes, from whom little better could be expected. For men of rank and wealth are equally bad, even worse, for they add to their other vices that of hypocrisy. What they condemn in others, they practise secretly themselves. "I deny that there is anyone, no matter how great a crime he is guilty of, who will concede that he ought to be punished. From this it can be seen how unjust and wicked it is for us to be severe on others and indulgent to ourselves; harsh to others, lax to ourselves. On the same charge we punish others and forgive ourselves. It is an intolerable presumption and arrogance."[20] "What rich or noble man is there who preserves his innocence, or restrains his hands from all crimes? Though I need not have said 'from all crimes',—would that they even refrained from the greatest crimes. . . . Let us see if anyone is free from those two chief evils, as they may be called, that is, either from murder, or from rape. For who is there who is not bloody from the slaying of a human being, or stained with vile impurity? Even one of these suffices for eternal punishment, but hardly any man of wealth has not committed both."[21]

Such a sweeping statement naturally raises doubts as to its own accuracy. But Salvianus viewed the world he lived in through dark glasses. Of the Christian Church he says, "Except a very few who flee from evils, what else is almost the whole body of Christians than a sink of iniquity (*sentina vitiorum*)? For whom will you find in the Church who is not a drunkard or a spendthrift or an adulterer or a seducer or a kidnapper or a gambler or a robber or a murderer? And what is worse than all this, almost all these things without cessation. . . . I will say much more: you will more easily find men guilty of all evils than not of all, more easily of the

[20] 4, 2. Cf. Horace, *Sermones*, I, 3, 20–25.

[21] 3, 10, 55.

greater crimes than of the lesser, that is, more easily those who have committed the greater crimes along with the lesser than those who have committed only the lesser, without the greater."[22]

And again, he attacks the clergy in a manner reminding us of the satire of Jerome.—Their boasted sanctity is a sham, they have changed their name but not their life, their dress but not their thoughts, and they think the sum of divine worship lies in a costume worn, not in deeds. They are not satisfied with their change, but become ambitious for worldly honors they lacked before. They pass by what is permitted and commit what is forbidden: they refrain from marriage but do not refrain from rape.[23]

It is much worse, comments Salvianus, when evil is done by one whose position makes him conspicuous and likely to serve as an example. "A theft is a bad deed in every man; but without doubt a senator who commits a theft is more to be condemned than some person of lowly station. To all men is fornication forbidden; but it is much worse if one of the clergy commits fornication than if one of the people."[24]

Theatrical shows, a favorite object of censure for Christian moralists of all ages, do not escape condemnation by Salvianus. In fact, many forms of vice and crime, he says, one can discuss objectively, but the things done in the theater cannot even be named by a good man without shame. The impurities of the stage are in a class by themselves. One is not corrupted if one chances to witness a robbery, or to hear a blasphemous utterance; but in the theater both actors and audience are equally guilty.[25] And we even dedicate to Christ

[22] 3, 9, 44–45.

[23] 5, 10, 52–55.

[24] 4, 12, 57–58. Baluzius compares Juvenal, 8, 140 f.:

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

[25] 6, 3. 6, 11.

—O monstrous madness—the spectacles of the circus and the mime, a base and filthy sacrifice. How can we expect Heaven's favor for our state? The churches are empty, the theaters are filled. If one comes to church, not knowing there are games, and hears of them, he leaves at once for the circus.[26] The people are so steeped in the love of such things that the first request of the people of Treves, after the destruction of their city, was for the establishment of a circus! "Where would you put it," demands Salvianus with bitterest irony, "perhaps above the tombs and ashes, above the bones and blood of the dead? For what part of the city is free from all these? Where was blood not shed, or bodies piled up, or the mutilated limbs of the slaughtered? Everywhere is the appearance of a captured city, everywhere the horror of captivity, everywhere the presentment of death. The wretched remnants of the people huddle above the heaps of their dead, and you call for a circus; the state is black from its burning, and you assume the countenance of festivity; all are mourning, you are joyful."[27]

The relations between the sexes are shown to be no less terrible than those described by Juvenal. We have already noticed the author's frank outright statement that practically no "*nobilis*" or "*dives*" was innocent of both murder and rape, and his equally bold challenge to produce a professing Christian who was not an adulterer, etc. He dwells on the subject again, having the following to say of Aquitania: "Among the Aquitanian states indeed, what one has not been, in its richest and most fashionable part, practically a brothel? What man of position and wealth has not lived in the mire of lust? Who has not plunged himself into the abyss of the vilest licentiousness? Who has rendered to his wife a husband's fidelity? In fact, as far as concerns the submission to his desires, who has not reduced his wife to

[26] 6, 7, 38.
[27] 6, 15, 89.

the level of a servant-maid, and degraded the sacrament of honorable marriage to the point where no one in the household should seem to be less valued in the eyes of the husband than she who was, from the dignity of matrimony, the head?"[28]

But by far the most fiery, vigorous, and unrestrained denunciation of the whole work is that levelled at the people of the province of Africa. Most nations, says Salvianus, have some especial failing, but it is usually in a measure balanced by some good characteristic. For example, the Goths are treacherous, but chaste; the Alans unchaste, but not so treacherous; the Franks mendacious, but hospitable; the Saxons extremely cruel, but admirably chaste. But among the Africans no good qualities can be found at all. "*Si accusanda est inhumanitas, inhumani sunt; si ebrietas, ebriosi; si falsitas, fallacissimi; si dolus, fraudulentissimi; si cupiditas, cupidissimi; si perfidia, perfidissimi.*" "I do not include their impurity and irreverence with all these things, because in the wickednesses that I have mentioned they surpass the crimes of other nations, but in these respects they surpass even their own."[29]

Then in more detail he enlarges upon the sexual immorality of the Africans. It is enormous, it is almost incredible that these people can be really human beings: it is as rare and unheard of for an African not to be unchaste as for him not to be an African.[30] "For I see a state as it were saturated with vices, I see a city teeming with all kinds of wickedness, full indeed of people, but more so of evil, full of wealth, but more so of vice,[31] men outdoing each other in turn in the baseness of their crimes, some contesting in greed, others in impurity, some feeble from drink, others stuffed with undigested food,

[28] 7, 16.

[29] 7, 15, 64.

[30] 7, 16, 66.

[31] There is an untranslatable word-play here: *video urbem . . . plenam quidem turbis, sed magis turpitudinibus, plenam divitiis, sed magis vitiis,*" etc.

these crowned with garlands, those smeared with unguents, all lost in a varying dry-rot of luxury, not all indeed intoxicated with wine, but yet all drunk with evil deeds."[32] And further: "As far as concerns the common people, who in that so innumerable number has kept himself chaste? Chaste do I say? Who has not been a seducer and an adulterer? and that without cessation or end? . . . No matter how diligently you might seek among those thousands, hardly even in the Church could you find a chaste person."[33]

Enough examples have been adduced to show the nature of the *De Gubernatione Dei*, as far as concerns the material illustrative of moral and social conditions contained therein. The style is highly rhetorical and monotonous, there are repetitions, and the material might have been arranged and dealt with in a more logical and compact manner. But with all these defects, the work has its points of interest. The descriptions of contemporary conditions, though unrestrained and overdrawn, are deadly in earnest and represent a type of satirical writing far removed, in its crudity, from the able verses of Juvenal, but equally sincere, if not more so.

Another work of Salvianus which demands our attention for a moment is the work in four books *Adversus Avaritiam*, or, as the manuscript authority calls it, *Timothei ad ecclesiam catholicam*. This was written under the pseudonym of Timotheus, but there is no doubt that Salvianus was the author, from references in his own other writings. This work has been called a satire;[34] and the author's motive in writing it, as described by himself in a letter to his friend Salonius,[35] is strikingly like the motive avowed by Juvenal in his first satire; "Now therefore that writer whom we are speaking of, seeing the serious and manifold diseases (morbos) of almost

[32] 7, 16, 70.

[33] 7, 17, 75.

[34] *Histoire Littéraire*, 2, 524. Cf. Ampere, *Histoire Littéraire de la France* 2, 168.

[35] Epistle 9.

all Christians, and how that by all in the Church not only were all things not counted of less value than God, but almost everything of more value: for it is evident that the drunken reject God in their drunkenness, and the greedy in their greed, and the lustful in their lusts, and the bloodthirsty in their bloodshed, and nearly all men in all these: and this is all the more serious, because not only are these things most outrageously and continually done, but they are not even remedied afterwards by repentance," etc., ". . . . and since, the marrow of his bones being aflame with sacred zeal, he could not do otherwise in such a ferment, he burst into a cry of pain" (*in vocem doloris erupit*).

But as a matter of fact, a study of the work fails to show evidence for calling it satirical. It is labelled "Against avarice," but of avarice in the ordinary sense of the word, in that employed by Horace, for instance, there is no mention, and consequently no censure. Indeed, we may fairly infer that parsimony in the possessor of great wealth would not have been counted so great an evil, but even a positive merit, in Salvianus' eyes,—provided the wealthy man bequeathed his property to the Church.[36] The main thesis of the whole work, which would have been twice as effective if half as long, is an appeal to rich men to devote their property to the service of God, instead of spending it on secular affairs. All men are sinners to a greater or less degree, the author argues, and in any case are so much indebted to God for blessings received that all their property would be small enough an offering in return. Much wealth endangers the future salvation of its possessor, as no rich man can possibly go to heaven; and this fact should outweigh all such foolish sentiments as the desire to leave one's children provided for, etc.

There are occasional passages where Salvianus adopts a somewhat satirical manner. For example, in Book 3, chapters

[36] *Adversus Avaritiam*, 4, 6.

19–20, is an ironical description of the hypocritical relatives of the rich man, eagerly waiting for him to die, and grumbling at his delay. "You see these men, of the most rich and splendid mode of life, weeping, with sad faces and joyous attire, displaying to you countenances composed into a sorrowful expression, purchasing with their imaginary grief your heritage. Who would not be moved by so great dutifulness, by such grief? or how, when you see such things as these, can you not forget yourself? For you see the tears they squeeze out, the simulated sighs, the pretended anxiety, not hoping that you will recover, but waiting until you die; you see the eyes of all fixed upon you, as if finding fault with the slowness of your decease. . . . See them, longing for your heritage and already dividing your substance among themselves; they who do not love you, but your patrimony, who even curse you, through eagerness for your goods. For while they impatiently thirst for your property, they hate you, and look upon your presence as a rival and opponent to themselves, regard the fact that you still live as an obstacle and stumbling-block to their greed."

Such a description as this is of course real satire, against a certain form of avarice, and reminds us more of Horace that the satire of the *De Gubernatione Dei*. But it is only introduced by the way, to show the ingratitude and lack of appreciation of the sort of heirs who generally inherit one's property, and hence the advantage of devoting it rather to some holy purpose. But, contrary to what one might suppose, the work as a whole is not a satire against avarice.

CONCLUSION

That type of writing which we are accustomed to call "satirical" did not perish utterly with the palmy days of Roman literature any more than it sprang into existence, full-fledged and unconnected with previous writings, with that age. As we have seen, there continued to be, from time to time, in the centuries following the time of Juvenal, various avowedly satirical poets, whose works have vanished, so that they are mere names to us, but who were classed by their contemporaries—for publication at least—with the great masters of satire of an earlier day. And we need not necessarily assume that the loss of their writings indicates inferiority. Too much inferior writing has survived, and superior perished, to justify that. But they were not, perhaps, widely circulated, there was less chance of the preservation of one out of few copies than one out of many, interest in literature was gradually declining, and so for one reason or another the satires of Tetradius, Lucillus, Secundinus, and the others, were lost.

In the great world-wide conflict attendant on the rise and establishment of a new religion, satire proved to be a favorite weapon in the hands of its apologists. Keen minds trained in rhetoric or the law were quick to seize upon the inconsistencies and immoralities of the hoary collection of heathen myths and legends as fit subjects for satirical treatment. The connotation of the word will not allow us, perhaps, to speak of these apologetical writings as "satires," but it is entirely justifiable to regard them as to a large extent satirical,—as works in which a satirical style and satirical treatment, were elements much relied on for effectiveness.

Again, after the heat of this conflict was over, after Christianity had become the predominant religious faith in the

empire, writers of a satirical turn of mind once more directed their energies against vice and wickedness and folly. Sometimes it is possible to point out a definite spot in the satires of Horace or of Juvenal which may have afforded a text or a suggestion to another author. Sometimes it is a faint echo of phraseology, a similar stylistic device, or the same general tone, which stimulates our recollection. Prudentius' attacks on gladiatorial shows, and his disquisitions on the luxury which pandered to all five senses of the body, remind us of the ancient satirists, and so oftentimes do the keen and clever diatribes against luxury and avarice of Hieronymus and Ambrosius.[1] The same thoughts kept cropping out, and it would be strange indeed if in the expression of these thoughts we did not find resemblance. The main difference is that instead of grouping their thoughts of this nature into one "*farrago*" and calling it "a satire," these writers were content to incorporate them in larger works, works partly of another nature, and called by other names. Perhaps this was more effective, as to call a man a writer of satire in those days was not always to increase his popularity.

Nor did the element of personal satire fail to manifest itself. We have still two anonymous "*carmina*" which attack individual representatives of the dying paganism; we have Clau-

[1] The Christian preacher who, like Ambrosius, employs the pen of satire, is really the successor of the wandering Stoic or Cynic philosopher who preached on the street-corners in classical timees. He has a more definite status in society, and the prestige of the organization of which he is a member does its share in attracting his audience; but the "sermon," as a moral discourse, is not so far from the "*sermo*" as Horace used the word. One needs merely to remember such a passage as the words of Stertinius in Horace, *Serm*, II, 3, 77–81, to realize the similarity:

> Audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis
> Ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
> Quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
> Aut alio mentis morbo calet; huc propius me
> Dum doceo insanire omnis vos ordine, adite.

dian's brilliant epic-satirical poems against Rufinus and Eutropius, and Rutilius Namatianus' attack on Stilicho; not to mention such productions as the "*Contra Vigilantium*" of St. Jerome.

We must not fall into the easy error of believing that after the Golden Age, or even after the Silver Age, of Latin literature, nothing worth while was produced. Post-classical Latin has received less than its due attention, but it has its points, after all, and will in time receive its proper valuation; and readers will see that in this field, as well as in the earlier, the element of satirical writing occupies no unimportant place.

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INDEX

Abuccius, 9.

Ambrosius, 49, 50, 156;
life, 70–71; *De Tobia*, 71 ff.; *De Helia et Ieiunio*, 73 ff.; *De Nabuthae*, 77 ff.

Apollinaris Sidonius, 140, 141;
life, 136; and the anonymous satire, 136 ff.; poem on the Burgundians, 138 f.

Apuleius,
satires, 14; *Metamorphoses*, 14 ff.

Arnobius,
life and nationality, 31; *Adversus Nationes*, 31 ff.; St. Jerome's judgment on, 36; value of his work, 36.

Ausonius, 37 ff.;
letter to Tetradius, 37–38; Epigrams, 38; and Lucilius, 38–39; and Horace, 39.

Bion of Borysthenes, 3.

Carmen ad Senatorem, 61 ff., 156.

Carmen contra Paganos, 57 ff., 156.

Claudian,
life and nationality, 101; *In Rufinum*, 102–108, 157; *In Eutropium*, 108–116, 157, compared with the *In Rufinum*, 116–117; and Juvenal, 117–118; and Lucilius, Birt's argument, 118–119; *De Bel o Gildonico*, 119; *Carmina minorla*, 120.

Comm odianus,
life and nationality, 26–27; *Carmen Apologeticum*, 27; *Instrucitones*, 27 ff.

Conington, John,
on originality of Roman satire, 2–3.

Cornutus, 3;
a satirist (?), 9 note.

Cresconius, 69.

Crispinus, 7–8.

Dryden, John,
on satire, 4.

Fictitious interlocutor, 20, 29, 32, 81, 126.

Hieronymus,
judgment on Arnobius, 36; life, 82; letter to Eustochium, 83 ff.; controversial writings, 92 ff.; *Contra Vigilantium*, 92–93; *Adversus Helvidium*, 93, 95; *Adversus Iovinianum*, 93–94, 96; *Adversus Rufinum*, 94; and contemporary mimes, 98; as a satirist, 98 ff.

Horace,
on Roman satire, 2, 4; influenced by Greek philosophical moralists, 3; not the only satirist of his time, 7 ff.; a reformer, 70.

Ioannes Lydus, 11.

Julius Caesar,
Anticatones, 9.

Juvenal,
spirit of, 4, 70.

Lampridius, 141.

Lenaeus, 9, 12.

Lucian,
Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος, 14.

Lucilius, 5, 7, 12;
dependent on the Greek Old Comedy, 2.

Lucillus, 135, 155.

Lucius of Patrae,
Μεταμορφώσεις of, 15.

Maximus of Tyre, 3.

Musonius, 4.

Old Comedy,
and Roman satire, 1, 2.

Orbilius Pupilius Beneventanus, 9.
Orientius,
life, 125; *Commonitorium*, 125 ff.; and Juvenal, 128.
Paulinus of Nola, 64 ff.;
and Prudentius, 68.
Petronius,
as a satirist, 7, 9, 11.
Philo, 4.
Pliny the Younger, 12.
Plutarch, 4.
Prudentius,
life and nationality, 43; *Psychomachia*, 43–44; *Apotheosis*, 44–45; *Hamartigenia*, 45–49; *Contra Symmachum*, 49 ff.; and Juvenal, 46, 49, 51.
Quintilian,
on satire as a Roman invention, 2, 6.
Rutilius Namatianus, 11, 135, 157;
life, 129; *De Reditu Suo*, 129 ff., as a satire, 130 ff., and Horace, 133–134.
Salvianus,
life, 143; *De Gubernatione Dei*, 143 ff.; and Juvenal, 144, 152; *Adversus Avaritiam*, 152 ff.; and Horace, 154.
Satira,
origin and early use of word, 1; use by Horace, 1; definition of Suetonius (Diomedes), 1.
Satire,
as a Roman invention, 2; influenced by Old Comedy, 2, by Greek popular philosophy, 3; difficulty of exact definition of, 5; fundamental basis of, 5; as a "carmen maledicum," 6; subsequent to Juvenal, 9–10, 155 ff.; and preaching, 70, 156 note; use of personal names in, 99 note, 123 f.
Secundinus, 140, 155.
Seneca,
satire on Claudius, 5, 7, 9, 108; Epistle 86, 6.
Sentius Augurinus, 12.
Sevius Nicanor, 9.
Silius (Proculus?), 12.
S. Paulini Epigramma, 121; and Horace, 122 note.
St. Jerome. See Hieronymus.
Sulpicia, 42.
Superstition, 36 note.
Symmachus,
Relatio, 49 ff.
Teles, 3.
Tertullian,
life and nationality, 16; style, 16, 25; *De Pallio*, 17 ff.; *Apologeticum*, 21 ff.; *Adversus Nationes*, 23 note; *Adversus Valentinianos*, 23 f.; *De Spectaculis*, 24; *De Cultu Feminarum*, 24; *De Pudicitia*, 24; *De Ieiuniis*, 24.
Tetradius, 41, 155.
Theophrastus,
De Nuptiis, 96 f.
Trebonius, 9.
Turnus, 11–12.
Varro, 20.
Varro Atacinus, 7.
Vergilius Romanus, 12–13.

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